

What's in a name?: Revealing the function of the criminal pseudonym through a content analysis of ten characters in twelve films

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

The Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Criminology

University of Ontario Institute of Technology

May 2015

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Certificate of Approval

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my beautiful family. For years, all of you have supported and encouraged me at different points throughout my journey. This is a chance for me to mark my thanks and gratitude in ink.

Madison, I want you to know and understand what an essential and inspirational part of my life that you are. You have given me drive, focus, motivation, and no choice but to work my hardest, every day, and for that, I have this. Thank you!

My love, the endless encouragement, confidence, passion, acceptance, and (awesome) ideas, that you have brought to life, will forever be my prescribed method – and I thank you for this. You are the catalyst and therapy to my curiosity.

My family, the best of the best, after all of the years of talking about my research, I am proud to finally present my work to you all. I thank you for the time that each of you have taken to allow me to ramble on incessantly about criminals and their pseudonyms for many, many, years.

Acknowledgments

This space provides a perfect opportunity to look back, and reflect, on the numerous people that have influenced, supported, and encouraged me in my work – exchanges I am eternally grateful for.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the members of my committee. Dr. Judith Grant, thank you for keeping me on track and putting me in my place. Your continuous words of encouragement, uncanny attention to detail, and relentless confidence in my convictions, facilitated a learning environment that has made me a better researcher, and person, in so many ways. Dr. Steven Downing, your immediate interest and enthusiasm in my work gave me a confidence that helped get me through this process with a piece of that I am truly proud of. Dr. Carla Cesaroni, I appreciate all of the notes, contributions, and suggestions that were been made, whilst acknowledging a level of ambition and deftness in my contribution to the literature. All three of you have played an indispensable role in creating a space where I could produce and defend my thesis.

Next, I would like to take the time to recognize the diverse brilliance of my co-hort. It was an honour spending the last two years with all of you. Each and every one of you brought a perspective, experience, and style that I was privy to explore. The experience of our dynamic conversations, passionate debates, and nights at the pub, have made an impression that will be present in my being for the rest of time. We were all on this boat together, and I am happy that of arrived!

Finally, I would like to note some of the educators that I have crossed paths with who have had an indescribable impact on the course of my academic journey. From Ms. Tweedell, Ms. Vaughn and Mrs. Chang, who fundamentally gave me an appetite and delight for learning. To Professor White for announcing to my ‘Intro Socio-legal’ course “Go get smart first”. Professor Demos, your guidance and promotion of my ‘aptitude’ put graduate school in my vocabulary. Professor Couto, you are one of the best humans that I have ever learned from – passion, wit, and knowledge – thank you for your support. Thank you Mrs. Nicole Doyle for introducing me to the program and being one of the most resourceful people I know. And, of course, to the Professors that I have had the pleasure of coming into contact with during my time here at UOIT.

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Abstract

At times, individuals articulate their criminal identity with the construction of a pseudonym derived from within their subculture. This study assumes there is a value and/or purpose in the construction, cultivation and representation of the criminal identity as expressed through the use of the pseudonym. This study, through the observation of 12 films, investigates the prevalence and functions of the pseudonym within the criminal subculture as represented in each movie. Basic descriptive values and a content analysis revealed that the pseudonym has a symbolic value to the characters, which contributes to an understanding of the multiple dimensions that constitute the criminal identity. This film analysis can be used to understand how both the individual's concept of self is negotiated, as well as how the criminal justice system interacts with identity formation processes. I argue that the pseudonym articulates the criminal's master status. The individual's propensity to manage the criminal identity indicates that the deviant identity is primary or secondary in relation to their 'official identity'. I argue that sociological conditions – family, peers, culture, prison, education - coalesce and influence identity formation processes.

Keywords: pseudonym, identity, performance, media, subculture

Definition of Terms

Pseudonym:

A name that is constructed as a means of articulating a dimension of self, that differs from the official name. This name co-exists with the use of the official name. The pseudonym exacts the performance of a particular segment of self.

Official Name:

The name that is given to most people at birth, the given name. This name appears on most, if not all, government and official documentation, i.e., driver's license, bank account information, resume.

Nickname:

A name that is typically derived from childhood. A name that brings attention to a particular aspect of the individual's social history. This name is not used as a replacement to the official identity and does not necessarily condition the performance of the individual.

Alias:

A name that is constructed as a means of denying the social history of the official name. The name is meant to replace the official name as a means of avoiding detection and/or correlation with the official identity. A common example of this is a witness protection program.

Graecism:

A type of name construction that involves valorizing the characteristics of an individual in terms of the individual's history and/or personality, i.e., locality, temperament, position.

Latinisation:

A type of name construction that involves the punning of a physical and observable trait of the individual, i.e., hair colour, weight, behaviour.

Anagram:

A type of name construction that involves the rearrangement of the letters found within the official name, to make a new name, i.e., the position/order of the letters.

Chapter One

Introduction

What are the pseudonyms of criminal characters? How are they constructed? What purpose do they have within the context of a deviant subculture as represented by media? How does the character's pseudonym function within the criminal environment? These are some of the queries that will be advanced as a means of developing my thesis. The focus of this research will be the discussion of social identity through the exploration of 12 contemporary films. The characters in these films reveal the construction and utility of the pseudonym within media produced criminal subcultures.

A name is one of the most fundamental indications of identity and its articulation (Doerr, Riva & Zumer, 2012). The name that a person will have at different times and in different spaces gives insight into both the way that the culture perceives the individual, as well as how the individual wants to be perceived in relation to various social processes. Perceptions and conceptions are conditioned by societal practices such as capitalism, nationalism, and patriarchy (Tyner, 2012). An individual may have an official name which is typically given by the parent(s)/guardian(s) at birth. The official name appears on documentation and on identification cards such as a driver's licence, a diploma, marriage licenses, or bank accounts (Aceto, 2002). There are also nicknames which are a function of identity, allowing the holder to emulate something they want others to know about them. On the other hand, there are pseudonyms which also function as a mode of identity, allowing for the holder to emphasize an aspect of themselves at the expense of others (Aceto, 2002; Pagnucci & Mauriello). It is the pseudonym which I will be concerned with as the focus of this research, and its place within a subculture which enables people to emphasize the criminal aspects of their lives. Ultimately, this research will explore how the pseudonym functions within the media representations of the criminal subculture in 12 films.

Pseudonyms are names that are constructed within a cultural naming system. The false name, in contrast to the official name, is taken on by the individual, consciously and explicitly (Aceto, 2002). The names are typically derived via one of three constructs that relate to or explain the name (Peschke, 2005; 2007): (1) anagrams are a form of word or letter play to the official name. Take for example, from the present research, Winston

Wolf, whose pseudonym, 'Mr. Wolf,' involved the removal of the first name and adding a prefix to the surname, or Ophelia who becomes 'O' by eliminating all of the letters of her name, except for the first; (2) latinisations are the punning of a physical trait or characteristic (Gallmeier & Levy, 1998) e.g., 'Red Top' was derived from within the character's criminal group, punning the bright red hair of the young woman; and (3) graecisms are names that are developed from a spirit or personality trait of the person, e.g., 'Steak,' who acquired his name from criminal peers after having been a goffer who picked up food for the local gang's boss - steak and fries;. The pseudonym can be taken on and utilized without denying the official name, and, thus, one's identity. The pseudonym can be used as a means to carry out 'business' that may be a threat to the official identity, with use of a deceptive name (Philips & Kim, 2009). This is precisely how a pseudonym is different than an alias since with the use of a pseudonym there is no denial of one's official identity and the history attached to the identity. The pseudonym allows for the individual to emerge with a new, possibly latent, identity that is necessary considering the particulars of their situation (Felus, 1990). The pseudonym can be used as a technique of identity concealment, resistance, or maintenance (Guenther, 2009).

The use of a pseudonym signifies an adherence, by the individual, to the behavioural patterns of a crowd that has been deemed as desirable (Aceto, 2002). The name is derived from within this desirable culture and becomes symbolic of the person's membership within the community (Becker, 1963; Dedman, 2011). These names, and exploring the way they are constructed, utilized and defined within the context of the subculture, will give insight into the processes and customs that are unique to each subset within the culture. It is this very style of the criminal culture that authors (Martin, 2009; Spencer, 2011) have been urging the science of crime and criminals to grapple with in their scholarship. Accordingly, I will contend that the pseudonym is an interesting cultural artifact when considered as the linguistic representation of a 'desirable' criminal identity. The use of a pseudonym within an appropriate environment illustrates how the criminal character's representation is interpreted, and it may render a particular response from the audience. This feedback functions as a process of identity formation which enables the individual to emulate a form of identity that may not have been available to them within the confines of conventional society (Newell, 2010).

Criminals may have pseudonyms that they have adopted consciously thus articulating the emergence of the individual's criminal identity. The use of the pseudonym within a subculture identifies one's membership in the community (Dedman, 2011). The utility of the pseudonym has been investigated within various disciplines concerning a number of subcultures, however, there has been little to no literature within criminology and the criminal justice disciplines on such an issue.

This present research looks to address the gap in current literature that has failed to connect the value, purpose, and function of the pseudonym in the criminal subculture. This research is exploratory in nature and will contribute to the discourse of naming conventions, identity formation, the cultivation, and the transformation processes of individuals within the criminal subculture. Analyzing the utility of the pseudonym as a facilitator to the processes of establishing a criminal identity will reveal how the name enables the individuals to operate within their subculture, as well as manage and move between identities. This type of analysis will be valuable to the academic community and law enforcement institutions since it may enrich the understanding of tangible criminal identity formations. The academic community may make use of this information to add a dimension to the discourse of identity articulation among criminals and their peers. In regards to law enforcement, my research will contribute to the discourse concerning the use and incorporation of the pseudonym within criminal investigations and electronic data collection (Murphy, Fuleihan, Richards & Jones, 2011). My research will also explicate how social systems, such as the criminal justice system, may interact with the individual's conceptions of identity.

The pseudonym, as a cultural artifact, has been used in criminal justice processes (e.g., police intelligence systems, court proceedings, risk assessments, security classification and management within the prisons), and thus interacts with the individual's concept of self. The present research will illustrate how the pseudonym facilitates the construction of a dimension of a social identity that is a tangible articulation of the character's criminal identity. This constructed identity provides the individual with opportunities to access mechanisms of self, power, trust, and incorporation.

To make the claims of the present research clear, I first must examine the literature as it relates to the pseudonym and interpersonal processes of the self, power, trust, and

incorporation. This will be followed by a brief explanation of the theoretical assumptions and focus that bolsters the approach of the present research. Once foundation of the present research has been addressed, a discussion concerning the method of my thesis and the results of my data, there will be a synthesis of the material which will address the query of my thesis, that is, what is the prevalence and purpose of the pseudonym in the criminal subculture?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Various authors within the literature identify the utility of the pseudonym in relation to identity, culture, and interpersonal communications of the individual. The pseudonym that one uses can facilitate the management of self, the establishment of one's status/reputation, the identification of subcultural belonging, and the establishment and maintenance of relationships/kinships (Belackova & Vaccaro, 2013; Boduszek, Adamson, Hyland & Bourke, 2013; Larson & Pepper, 2003; Taylor & Potter, 2013). The works of Foucault (1972), Lemert (1973), Goffman (1959; 2009), and Taylor (2007) all contribute to how I have come to understand social truths, normalizing thoughts and processes, and our performance in the social community. All of these contribute to the way individuals have come to understand their place within the social environments that they find themselves throughout their lifetime.

The Pseudonym and Naming Systems

The current literature develops a discourse around naming systems/conventions and pseudonyms but not within the criminology literature or in major journals. Goodenough (1965) contends that identity arises out of the circumstances that spring from the social context of the individual. The individual may develop an identity that emphasizes particular aspects that they want to make visible to the public (Weikop, 2012). In this light the pseudonym can be seen as a component of identity formation and articulation. As Guenther (2009) argues, the use of a pseudonym can be used to conceal identity and is constructed within the dynamics of power relations. Pagnucci and Mauriello (1999) contend that the pseudonym can be used as a form of credibility for those traditionally disempowered, i.e., gender and status, since the name renders a particular response from its audience (Asencio, 2011).

Various authors have discussed the use of pseudonyms within subcultural processes and communities such as Christopher (1989), and his work that considers the lives of immigrants and the establishment of pseudonyms as a way to hide their ethnicity. There is also Brinkman (2004) who discusses the pseudonym in relation to war names. Brinkman's (2004) research analyzes the pseudonym and how it functions as performance, concealment of identity, an expression of cultural and/or organizational

tradition, and how the name is situated within a culture system. Livia (2002) discusses the rewards and drawbacks of using a pseudonym. Her research concerns French gay men in an online community, and she evaluates the use of the pseudonym in relation to internal morphology and social interactions. She argues that pseudonyms are complex structures which enable the user to counter feelings of marginalization and the condemnation of their actions. This compliments the notions put forward by Aceto (2002) who deems that different names for the same person have different meanings in different places/contexts. Context gives insight into how the culture perceives the individual and how the individual wants to be seen in society in relation to one's status, roles, identity, values, and hierarchy in a socially constructed space.

Several authors have discussed naming systems within the literature as being derived within the subculture that constructs a name which becomes preferred over the use of the individual's official name (Goodenough, 1965; Guenther, 2009; Kleszynski, 2013; Pagnucci & Mauriello, 1999). The name signifies the patterns of resistance and the cultural/linguistic maintenance of identity (Aceto, 2002). The pseudonym defines and ties the individual to the subculture in opposition to their place within the larger social milieu. Kleszynski (2013) claims the importance of declaring membership to a locality, and that the pseudonym articulates the unique relationship and membership that the individual has to their community. Dedman (2011) contends that there are identifiers of subcultural belonging, and I contend that the pseudonym can act as this indicator. The subculture, within Dedman's (2011) research, is considered as a site of resistance to the larger social community. As Coates, Clayton and Humberstone (2010) suggest, subcultures do not reject the mainstream, but they do immerse their members within their own culture. The subcultures are made up of individuals/groups who are interested in creating a culture that enables the individual to gain respect and realize the goals of the larger society that are situated within institutions such as education, employment, and housing (Abadinsky, 2010; Becker, 1963; Cohen, 1955).

Criminal and Deviant Identities

Deviance and the experience of crime come to be normalized in the everyday interactions and actions of the individual until the criminal identity assumes the master status of one's self (Becker, 2000; Clarke, 2013; Spencer, 2011). Identity is formed,

cultivated, maintained, strengthened, and mediated within the social restraints that the individual is subjected to through everyday experiences (Agnew, 2013). Criminal identity enables the individual to perceive an advance in their power, control, respect, and honour. This empowerment, gained through social capital, becomes attributed to their criminal status. The criminal status is then further engrained when the individual takes on the style and culture of the subculture (Spencer, 2011), which I believe can be articulated in the use of the pseudonym. This entrenchment is necessary for the individual to be able to take part in the activities that are required for them to maintain their perceptions of self-efficacy in the culture of crime (Brezina & Topalli, 2012). It is this perception, of success in the subculture, which motivates the individual to cultivate the criminal identity despite what others would perceive as being negative implications of criminal involvement, e.g., imprisonment, injury, or of being robbed. The street name is able to bring out a sense of pride, accomplishment and belonging (Marquart, 2005). These positive emotional connections that are experienced by the individual, within the criminal subculture, facilitate the formation of a criminal identity (Boduszek et al., 2013). Next, is a section where I will discuss the theoretical assumptions and motivations of my research.

Performing Identity

The theoretical approach of this research is based on the belief that there are parts of society and social interaction that can be identified as social facts that exert control over one's individual and collective conscience (Durkheim, 1969; 1982). These forces influence the sense of what is right and wrong, creating a repository of sentiments concerning one's basic beliefs and rituals. Thus, the theoretical assumption of the present research is that crime is caused and/or determined by social facts. To evaluate these assumptions, I will put an emphasis on the psycho-sociological factors and traits of the individual. By conducting a systematic observation of human social behaviour, I hope to reveal the effects that social structures have on crimes and criminal behaviours. Moreover, in lieu of observing the condition of criminal behaviour, I will be able to enrich the way that academics and criminal justice personnel understand and interact with the pseudonym. This research urges that there be an understanding of the street name as a criminological cultural artifact among the aforementioned criminal justice experts; an artifact that will allow for the criminology discipline to account for and evaluate the

socio-linguistic utility of the pseudonym in regards to criminal identity formation processes. Scholarship's failure to consider the function and prevalence of the pseudonym has resulted in the discipline's inability to adequately account for the style and intimate life details that are unique to the criminal subculture and daily lives of particular individuals (Martin, 2009). Attention to such detail is compulsory if the study of crime is to remain critical and representative of the environment that it claims to discern (Spencer, 2011).

I argue that human behaviour is the result of communicated social symbols. In other words, humans create their identities in reaction to the people and context that their role, identity, or behaviour evokes. Blumer's (1969) method of symbolic interactionism is premised on the belief that humans act on the basis of meaning, these meanings are derived from the social interactions that they find themselves in on a daily basis, and that these meanings are dependent upon the internal process of interpretation that the individual prescribes. Blumer's (1969) method compliments the earlier work of George Herbert Mead where he identifies levels of social interaction that meaning is derived from within society. Meaning from interactions are derived in three ways arguing: (1) it can suggest something to the receiver of the 'message;' (2) it can transfer something to the receiver that the sender is trying to 'communicate;' and (3) it is the joint enunciation of a human act. Human life, according to Blumer (1969), is organized by these formative processes as a means of constructing discourse, performance, self, community and interactions.

In terms of performance, Goffman (1959) contends that individuals 'perform' roles as a means to convey a particular message, or meaning, which is meant to induce particular thoughts within the spectator. The individual may be performing as a means of portraying a particular identity, to accomplish a particular task, or as an end in itself. The performance creates a circumstance where the authenticity of one's role is judged and reacted to in the context of the situation. There are certain socially constructed signs that are a part of public discourse which influence both the way a role is performed, as well as the expectations of others, and their roles (signs/semiotics) which are socially, contextually, and historically situated (Toomela, 1996). Semiotics is a system of communication that is conditioned by interactional behaviours and common signs or

modes of meaning; a coded system of meaning which is able to signify underlying correlations (Eco, 1979).

The pseudonym is the site where sensory thinking (of self/identity) and conventional language (the pseudonym) are brought together as a tangible conceptualization of the individual internalizing their role within their environment. The success or failure of a performance is reliant on the confirmation or rejection of the said performance (Jawahar, 2010). Performances do not always align with the inherent character of the performer, however, it may be perceived as a necessity for the successful accomplishment of a task. When a role, such as a criminal, is taken on, the individual mimics the stock narrative of the said identity that the individual may have been exposed to in their lifetime (family, community, and media) (Garot, 2007). Performance is infused with the context of the environment.

Placing the performance within the context of the environment reveals how human behaviour can be learned and reinforced through social and societal reactions. Repetition of particular behaviours embeds a particular discourse that facilitates the social interactions of the milieu (Agius, 2013; Carranza, 1999; Warren & Evitt, 2010). Those who deviate from the norm are traditionally subject to the labels that come to define their deviant personhood in a way that articulates the problem that they pose to society (Lemert, 1951). More importantly, one may come to accept the deviant label which will condition the way that they will come to know and understand their conception of self in relation to the environments around them. For these reasons, the label cannot be thought of as a superficial title since this label has material effects that condition the punishment, stereotypes, treatment, control, and segregation of particular segments of the community, such as criminals, the homeless, terrorists, or Aborigines. Furthermore, as Lemert (1973) suggests, deviants react to the label symbolically through socio-psychological behaviours and patterns. Lemert (1973) identifies societal reactions to the label as the catalyst for primary and secondary deviance types. The primary deviance type is the rationalization of the label in regards to the tension it poses to 'normal' identity as pathological. The secondary deviance, which is the one of concern for this research, is the employment of a deviant behaviour or role that is created within the societal reactions of the label as a means of defence, attack or adjustment.

Performing the Criminal Identity

Becker (2000) extends the views of Lemert (1973) in an article which describes the way that concepts of deviance and master/subordinate status are developed. Deviance is an assumed homogeneous category which is socially constructed. Deviance is a label which is contingent on the concepts of successful application. This non-conformity is the product of a transgressive interaction between the possessor of the deviant character and a group of people who react to the 'rule breaking'. There are material effects of labelling individuals with deviant identities since the label cuts the individual off from participating in conventional institutes, e.g., work, education, intimate relationships, which forces the individual back, or further, into the criminal subculture. Moreover, deviant labels are dangerous because labels subject individuals to normalized processes, like the law, that are conceived as being the appropriate mechanism for 'dealing' with deviant identities (Nuzzo, 2013).

This premise reinforces the ideology that posits the criminal status as the individual's master status. Master status refers to the process in which an element of an individual's identity becomes distinguished as more important than other aspects of the self. In this regard, the deviant identification becomes the predominant one, conditioning the individual's attitude, actions, beliefs and interactions (Becker, 2000). What needs to be attended to would be this notion that the criminal identity is a socially constructed label (Becker, 2000; Garot, 2007). The label is used to further disenfranchise an already vulnerable group by attributing 'deficiencies' to the individual, as opposed to criticizing the social conditions which facilitate the development of the social control mechanism within a cultural system (Albertin, Cubells & Iniquez, 2011). This label is only able to exert power over the individual, as a social fact, if society's reaction is severe enough and the individual accepts the definition being placed upon him/her (Cechaviciute & Kenny, 2007; Galinsky, Wang, Whitson, Anicich, Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2013).

All of the above contentions are even more meaningful when considering how these labels affect the individual, but, more importantly, how legal and political systems use these labels to make monsters out of individuals through the process of monstrosity. The process of monstrosity, according to Nuzzo (2013), "eludes all notions of identity and difference, and therefore also the notion that places it [the criminal identity] 'outside'" (p.

56). Nuzzo's (2013) interpretation of the Foucauldian concept of the monster captures in what way moral and political systems dictate how the criminal justice system will assess and interact with any given criminal identity. The moral monster is identified and constructed as being outside of social and legal principles and, therefore, a threat to order and society. The political monster is the presence of the criminal character as it appears against political structures that claim to be the appropriate system to deal with the deviant oddity. This notion supports some of the assumptions of the present research, whereby I argue that the pseudonym acts as a sign that articulates the subject's identity as being criminal, different from the norm.

This identity, in public discourse, poses a threat or challenge to the social order. The process and administration of the legal system is presented, to the public at large, as the adequate knowledge that may overcome and manage the enigma of the criminal and non-criminal dimensions of the subject. This process of 'othering' the criminal body creates a doubt in the subject's ability to facilitate a non-criminal identity, which simultaneously interrogates and presumes the naturalness of their criminal traits (Link & Phelan, 2001). It is my belief that the pseudonym acts as a teleological instrument which acquires a negative value in the criminal justice system (CJS) that is apparent from the way that the criminal identity is ordained (Nuzzo, 2013).

Authors, Becker (2000), Lemert (1973), and Nuzzo (2013) demonstrate how 'othering' processes fail to acknowledge both the context of committing crimes, and that the criminal identity is a product of, and produced within, the crisis that the criminal is perceived to be embodying (race, gender, class, etc.). This brings us to the work of social learning theorists such as Cohen (1955), Sutherland and Cressey (1960), and Anderson (1999) who understand human behaviour as something that is learned and cultivated through the interactions of the environments that the individual is exposed to throughout their life. This does not assert that criminal behaviours belong to some communities as opposed to others, in so much as this paradigm understands criminal behaviours as being the consequence of conflicting and divergent values (Anderson, 1999; Cohen, 1955; Grant, 2005). Values that dictate what is 'good,' what is 'bad,' will at times condition the kind of identity that one will conceive as being possible, thus the type of personhood that one aspires to cultivate will be contingent upon the individual's perception of the public's

reactions to any given identity, and its value within society, e.g., beauty, intelligence, and sexuality.

There is a relationship between the community and delinquency. The very structure of the social environment in relation to class differences, social control, and political hierarchy all influence the symbolic and material performance and reaction of individual and groups (de Waal, 2010; Descormiers & Morselli, 2011; Grant, 2005; Lalich & McLaren, 2010). Pseudonyms, as a re-naming process, lend a tangible and quantifiable trait of individuals which mark a significant transformation in the person's life (Tunstall, 2013). This assumption urges me to pay attention to the way in which the pseudonym contributes to the formation of the subculture in relation to the idea that crime is a social concept that may condition the way an individual will come to understand themselves in relation to the environment around them.

Media Discourse

Before going any further it seems appropriate at this time to briefly discuss the literature concerning media depictions of crime, given that films have been chosen as the medium for my observations. The depiction of criminality in media is an important topic of discernment given the possible social implications of ideologies that are represented within media. There is a strong correlation between the images depicted in media and the cognitive/emotional sentiments of its audience (Oliver, 1999). This may translate into the discourse of the public forum and social institutions concerning aspects of identity, i.e., race, gender, age, ethnicity, religion, etc.. This interrelation is not superficial since media representations have the power to influence how people come to understand aspects of crime and the criminal identity, the routines and practices of the criminal justice system, and the broader social conscience which shapes and reflects societal attitudes. Although I will not be able to spend an immense amount of time discussing the intermingled relationship between the individual, society, media, and politics (Dowler, 2003), it is suffice to say that in conducting this study there was a sensitivity and awareness into the criminal characters that were being represented and discussed throughout the course of my research.

Moreover, attention needs to be paid to the creation of media, like the films observed in this study, in that they are constrained by the bureaucracy of the film and

entertainment industry. The need for film producers to generate material that is accessible and intelligible may at times cause writers to re-produce stock narratives of crime and criminal identities. Writers produce media with similar storylines, comparable characters, familiar settings, and recognizable lingo, as a means of creating imagery that is recognized and understood by its target audience. The down side to this is that particular races (ethnic), genders (male), and age groups (youth culture) are projected as the symbol for crime and criminality (Entman & Gross, 2008). Without attention to this shortcoming of the diversity in plot lines, vulnerable and identifiable personhoods become the object of slanted and repetitive accounts of criminality that implicitly attributes behaviours, values, and traits to aspects of their identity (Jones & Wardle, 2008). What will follow is an in-depth discussion concerning the method employed to carry out the inquiries of the present research.

Chapter 3

Method

My research explores how the pseudonym is presented within films that portray the criminal community. My research will reveal how the name is incorporated in identity formation processes that concern concepts of self, power, trust, and incorporation. I conducted a content analysis of 12 films produced from the 1980s to the present. I am analyzing both the construction of the pseudonym, as well as the interpersonal communications of characters. This will reveal how the pseudonym is utilized within the criminal subculture, as well as the conditions that contribute to the propensity of a criminal character to use a pseudonym. My treatment of film characters is not meant to be understood as analogous to the experience and opinions of real life members in the criminal subculture. However, I believe that media and social culture have a symbiotic relationship in terms of informing social discourse, hence, the analysis of fictional characters seems appropriate in regards to the explorative nature and scope of research. That being said, I will demonstrate that the pseudonym is an instrumental apparatus of social utility for these characters' criminal identity.

Evaluating 'Self'

Self is understood, in the literature, as a self-conception of one's identity which is the primary site of identity formation. Habermas (1990) states that the "discourses of self-clarification, which start from the question of who I am and would like to be, and how I ought to live" (p. 130) will dictate the thoughts, values, and actions of the individual, which enable them to cultivate a sense of self that aligns with their preconceptions of self. In other words, who we are and what we want to become are dependent upon the perceptions and aspirations of each individual. Individuals are confronted with features of their character that require some form of interpretation such as their gender, class, religion, and locality. These conditions will directly affect the way that an individual comes to understand their self (Presser, 2010). This premise entails that each individual will come to attribute their own meanings to actions and behaviours, which immediately raises the question of how much perception is able to influence the discourse of truth (Ladegaard, 2007; Svalastog, 2012; Xu, 1995). The multi-dimensional aspects of identity

can be illustrated through the various social roles and performances that the individual exhibits.

Evaluating 'Power'

Power can then be evaluated in terms of how much power is possessed by the individual in relation to economic capital (monetary), social capital (connections, bonds, influences), cultural capital (knowledge and education) and symbolic capital (social honour and prestige) (Ashley, 2011; Topper, 2011). Social capital is directly linked to an individual's ability to interact with the discourse and social construction of self in relation to identity (Weir, 2009). The ability to valorize the positive emotions that are attached to any given identity allows for the individual to challenge the negative discourse of their deviant attributes (Radcliffe & Stevens, 2008). Dominant identities tend to be physically authoritative, powerful and assertive in relation to other individuals in the immediate setting (Sparkes, Brown & Partington, 2010). Maintaining the power within identity requires that the individual continuously reiterate and display the power of their social position.

Evaluating 'Trust'

Trust is something that can be observed through the establishment and cultivation of relationships that share a common background and logic (Zaitch, 2005). Trust will be observed through the character's establishment of close friends, relatives, and partnerships that are the result of a common background, socialization pattern, or kinship, i.e., as a criminal, and enforcer of the law, having an education, or growing up in the same neighbourhood or circumstances (poverty). These are just some of the ways that mutual trust is established. Trust can be established through the display of a character's reliability, skills, efficacy, and responsibility (Donoghue & Tranter, 2012). Trust can also be evaluated from power exacted through the enforcement of debts, favours, or blackmail with peers. However, when trust is gained through the exploitation of power, mutual trust is not constructed, and it may actually result in the formation of distrust and betrayal. As Zaitch (2005) has noted "the conditions and the need for trust tend to put a severe limitation on its development" (p. 221), thus the paranoia of not trusting another is at times inevitable.

Evaluating ‘Incorporation’

Incorporation, or branding, relates to the notion of constructing one’s identity into an image that mimics the structure and administration of traditional corporate entities. This can be observed through the individual’s propensity to engage in behaviours that facilitate the development and sustainability of an organization as it relates to the product, service, and reputation that is associated with a particular ‘brand’. In this sense, mechanisms of incorporation are concerned with the way in which the brand is designed, packaged, and communicated within public engagements.

Content Analysis

I used the content analysis method outlined by Altheide and Schneider (2013) to effectively employ a symbolic interaction perspective that reveals patterns of human behaviour and interactions via analysis. My analysis evaluates aspects of human interactions in order to develop a discourse concerning the meaningful behaviours that are latent in everyday experiences. Media was my site of fieldwork observation due to the practical limitation of my thesis project in relation to time, access, and ability (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Ethnographic content analyses allows for rich descriptions that can easily be compared, contrasted, and may lead to emerging insights. My methodological approach allows for a reflexive observation that focuses on the interpersonal communications of individuals who reflect particular aspects of a culture within humanity.

The first 3 steps of my research method were concerned with identifying the problem and unit of analysis to be evaluated (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). My research is concerned with exploring the relationship between the pseudonym of an individual and its function within the criminal subculture; treating the pseudonym as a cultural artifact. To make my observations, I became familiar with the format of documentation that I am using which is media. I chose 12 films as the document to be viewed since these films allowed me to observe individuals in a variety of settings, as well as offer a narrative to their experiences. I found characters within the films that used a pseudonym and are engaged in criminal or deviant behaviours. The pseudonym, again, is a name that the individual uses as a form of identification within the criminal subculture. This name is

different from the official name, and the name exists without the denial of their official identity. My unit of analysis was identified as the individual.

To find the films, I went online and searched 'Crime movies 1980 to present'. I wanted to use movies that had been produced from 1980 onward since this would encapsulate films that were available to my generation. The Internet search engine (Google.com) gave the following results: (1) 'IMDB' (International Movie Database); (2) 'Sporcle,' which named the top grossing crime movies from 1980-present; (3) 'Box Office Mojo,' which listed top box office crime movies and movies that were based on real crime; and (4) 'Egoplant's Top 100 Movies'. From these sites I compiled a list of 152 movies. After the list was compiled, I systematically selected 12 films for observation by selecting every 8th movie on the list. Once the movies were selected I began the preliminary review of the films. I reviewed each movie to reveal, first, if there were characters who used a pseudonym as opposed to their official name within the film. If so, I placed this film, and the character, on a list for open coding. I continued until I reviewed all of the films to fill the quota of 10 characters, with 5 male characters and 5 female characters. By the end of the screening process, I had reviewed 12 films.

After watching these 12 films, I identified 130 individuals who were actively engaged in criminal and/or deviant behaviours. Of the 130 individuals, 73 of the characters used a pseudonym during the course of their criminal activities. Descriptive statistics are discussed in the results. Two separate lists were formulated of the individuals who used a pseudonym according to their gender for qualitative analysis. For the women, every second person from the list was selected until 5 women had been chosen for a further qualitative analysis. From the film *Savages*, characters O and La Reina were identified. The films *American Gangster*, *Spun*, and *Set it off* identified the characters Redtop, Cookie, and Stony, respectfully. For the men, every eleventh person was selected until 5 men were chosen. This resulted in the identification of Boston George from *Blow*, Mr. Wolf from *Pulp Fiction*, Mister French from *The Departed*, Steak from the film *City of God*, and finally, Bumpy from *American Gangster*. This method was used so that the sample would be as random as possible given the non-representative nature of the sample.

The next 3 steps involved constructing a protocol that listed the themes, and then tested the themes via the collection of my films and recording the content of the characters that I was concerned with for the purpose of my research. I used 3 films to test my protocol. From these films, I identified characters who would be appropriate to conduct a further qualitative analysis. Once these two steps were done, I made minor revisions to my protocol in terms of the structure.

I then searched online for copies of the movie scripts for the films that I selected to be a part of my analysis. Once I located the movie scripts, I downloaded a copy for my records to compare to the film for accuracy. For the films that did not have a script online, I transcribed the interpersonal communications that the character was exposed to during the first review.

The first review was done to ensure continuity between the film and the downloaded version of the movie script. If the film did not have a script, then the first review was used to transcribe the film. Once the film had been transcribed or verified, the film was reviewed a second time for open coding. The second review was used to identify the explicated themes of concern for my research project. The second review is also when the film is organized into a quantifiable table that records basic document information (e.g., film title, length, year of production, characters, etc.) (see Appendix 2; Appendix 3).

After initial observations of 3 films (*Blow*, *Pulp Fiction*, and *Savages*), I found a number of common topics which included, among others: 'power,' 'self,' 'family,' 'change,' 'capitalism,' 'trust,' 'reputation,' 'business,' 'respect,' 'corporation,' etc.. After further observations, and through consulting the literature, I settled on four themes that encapsulated the various subjects who were observed. The four themes are 'power,' 'self,' 'trust,' and 'incorporation'. More films were then viewed to ensure that the preliminary comparison of cases, according to text, narrative, and descriptions, had logical connections (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

Sample. My sample is theoretical since I selected movies that were of the criminal genre in regard to their focus. I also selected movies that had characters who used a pseudonym explicitly within the film. This was done because I understand that the answer to my research question is dependent upon observing individuals who possess the characteristic of concern, the pseudonym. The evaluation done within the pseudonym

prevalence protocol (see Appendix 3) lends to a holistic interpretation in regards to the frequency and construction of pseudonyms within the subculture. Further analysis and data collection was completed with individuals who had a pseudonym for a qualitative analysis. This qualitative sample was determined via stratified random sampling. After a list of characters who used a pseudonym was compiled and divided according to gender, a final sample was produced of 5 women and 5 men ($n = 10$).

The next step involved completing the collection of data. I continued to collect data according to the themes that had been identified as relevant to my research. The initial coding was done on the original document. This information was then transferred onto a word processor to aid in the retrieval of information at later points in the research process. Documents were created that organized the content according to the direction of speech (to the character, from the character, self-narrative) and according to themes. After data had been collected for two thirds (7 characters) of my total sample, I reviewed my themes to see if I needed to make any adjustments (Altheide and Schneider, 2013). This would address any oversights that may have been made in the formulating stages of my research. At this point, I was able to refine the thematic categories which helped in formulating summaries, according to each theme, for each character.

The final step was performing a data analysis to assess if the themes and content were able to communicate the social process that was being investigated. This was followed by a comparison of cases according to the themes to reveal contrasts and similarities. This is also the point where summaries of the themes were constructed out of the content. This was completed by developing a thematic protocol for each of the characters who were analyzed qualitatively.

The final steps involved a comparison of the summaries in the thematic protocols against themselves to compare categories within and between cases, and to report these findings in short paragraphs. These findings were then compared against the original documents and then, finally, the findings were integrated with the interpretations of the themes and key concepts. The interpretation of the results are discussed in the following section.

Chapter 4

Results

After reviewing the immense amount of data that had been collected over the course of this research, I am able to articulate some of the characteristics and utility of the pseudonym within the criminal culture. The research provides evidence regarding how common the use of a pseudonym were in these 12 media representations of criminal subcultural groups.

Of the 130 criminals who were observed, 73 (56%) used a pseudonym while participating in criminal activities. The fact that more than half of the characters were actively using a pseudonym indicates the prevalence of this cultural styling. Of the 73 individuals who were using a pseudonym, 61 (84%) were men and 12 (16%) were women. There is clearly a disproportionate representation of gender in the sample.

The Pseudonym and Naming Systems

An aspect that was discussed within the literature, and explored in my research, was the naming conventions that could be found within particular naming systems. My research suggests that the use of a graecism to construct a pseudonym is preferred. A graecisim is a naming convention that encapsulates the spirit and/or character of an individual (Peschke, 2007). On the following page is a table that summarizes the prevalence and construction of the pseudonyms for the criminal characters identified in these 12 films.

Table 1

The type of naming convention used to construct a pseudonym

Type of name construction	Frequency	Percent
Anagram	17	23.3%
Latinisation	17	23.3%
Graecism	35	47.9%
Total	69	94.5%

Note: There are 4 missing values which equal 5.5% of the total percent. The values are missing due to a lack of information which would allow for me to discern the construct adequately. Missing case 1 was the character ‘Campizi’, I was not able to identify what type of construct this name was in lieu of social history. Missing case 2 was the character ‘Rossi’, I was not able to discern what type of name construct this was without intimate access. Missing case 3 ‘Aristotle’ and Missing case 4 ‘Otto’ are not available for much of the same reason.

Table 1 illustrates the frequencies of how the pseudonym is constructed within this sample. The data reveals that 35(47.9%) of the pseudonyms used were constructed via graecisms, e.g., Boston George, Tango, Giggles, and 17 (23.3%) were constructed through either an anagram, e.g., T.T., O, J, or a latinisation, e.g., Big Al, Carrot, Black Sam. A graecism involves the construction of a name that exploits an aspect of the individual’s character or personality. Alternatively, a latinisation involves the construction of a name that puns the physical characteristics or behaviour of the individual. Finally, an anagram involves the construction of a name that is the result of the letters in the official name being re-organized.

The data reveals that the use of a pseudonym is much more prevalent in some criminal subgroups than others. On the following page is a summary of the type of offense that the criminal character, using a pseudonym, was involved with, primarily.

Table 2
Primary offence for those using a pseudonym

Type of offence	Frequency	Percent
Misconduct	5	7%
Simple Theft	9	12.7%
Vehicle Theft	1	1.4%
Robbery	7	9.9%
Drug Solicitation	37	52.1%
Assault	7	9.9%
Injury w/ deadly weapon	5	7%
Total	71	100%

Table 2 is a visual illustration of the type of offences that the individual, with a pseudonym, was primarily involved with on a daily basis. Of the 71 pseudonyms observed, over half of the characters have the same primary offence type. Thirty-seven (52%) of the characters were involved in the solicitation of drugs. This was followed by nine (12.7%) of the characters being involved primarily with theft, seven (9.9%) were involved with robbery, five (7%) of the respondents were involved primarily with either murder or ‘other’ misconduct, e.g., aiding and abetting, laundering, and, finally, one (1.4%) character was primarily involved with the theft of vehicles. My research has also revealed that 51 (71%) of those using a pseudonym were affiliated with a gang or criminal group.

Performing Criminal Identity

I did not feel that the simple tabulation of pseudonyms, within these media representations of the criminal subculture, would be a substantive way of exploring and coming to understand this unique artifact of the criminal culture. I want my research to identify, both, the construction and saturation of the pseudonym, as well as extrapolate and analyze the symbolic utility of the pseudonym within the criminal character’s ethos. The pseudonym is present within the environment, but why? For what purpose? To what end? These queries were addressed through the analysis of content derived from the

everyday interactions of the 10 characters selected from 12 different Hollywood movies. On the following pages are a brief summary of the criminal characters being used for a qualitative analysis in terms of their official name, pseudonym, film affiliation, and a description of the character's demographics.

Table 3

Breakdown of characters used for content analysis.

Name/ Pseudonym	Film	Descriptor
Ophelia/ O	Savages	White, female, in her 20s. She is part of a crime syndicate that cultivates and distributes marijuana. She has carved out a place within the criminal environment, which makes her feel valued.
Elena Sanchez / La Reina	Savages	Latina, female, in her 40s. She is the head of the Mexican Baja Cartel. She is a powerful woman in a man's world. Her social roles are at odds.
George Jung/ Boston George	Blow	White, male, in his 40s. An American drug dealer that becomes involved in a major international drug sales. He comes from a working class, trying to live the American dream.
Winston Wolf/ Mr. Wolf	Pulp Fiction	Male, in his 50s, of Mediterranean descent. He is a part of a criminal group and he has a role in the 'clean-up crew'. He is a cunning and curt problem solver
*/ Mister French	The Departed	White, male, in his mid to late fifties. He is the right hand man of the Boston Irish gang's leader. He is a violent enforcer.
*/ Steak	City of God	A young Brazilian boy. He is a street kid in a slum of Rio. He is initiated into the gang at a young age, quickly becoming engaged with drug use/sale, violence, and robberies.
Ellsworth Johnson/ Bumpy	American Gangster	Black, male, in his 60s. He is the leader of a criminal group that originates out of Harlem, New York. They are involved with the sales and distribution of drugs in the 1960s.
*/ Redtop	American Gangster	Black, woman, in her 30s. She oversees one of the packaging and distribution locations within the city

		of New York. She is a part of the Lucas criminal group.
* / Cookie	Spun	White, female, in her 20s. She is a heavy drug user, and her spouse is a local dealer of methamphetamines.
Lida Newsom/ Stony	Set it Off	Black, woman, in her 20s. She is part of an all-girls criminal group. The group is made up of her and her childhood friends. They rob banks.

Note: * represents individuals who did not report the official name within observation. Table 3 briefly describes the characters who were used for the further analysis, a more detailed table can be found in Appendix 1. What will follow are the results from the content analysis of identity formation processes that were observed.

The pseudonym and the self. Interactions indicating processes of self articulation and construction were identified in terms of communications and interactions that expressed the nature and significance of the criminal character. The pseudonym is more than a fashion, it is a linguistic articulation of personhood which makes the individual identifiable within the subculture. As the following quote suggests, it is how they are known, introduced, and regarded within the criminal subculture, as their name:

Everybody, this is Redtop. (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

The pseudonym acts as a full replacement to the legitimate namesake within the confines of the criminal character's environment. The name is unique for the holder in its constructions as well as what it symbolizes to the individual and, at times, the community they interact with. For some, like O, this creates the advent of having a place in the world:

I am the home that neither of them ever had. And they're mine.

(Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

O's criminal identity gave her access to relations that she felt were not afforded to her legitimate self, and this shortcoming is remedied through the faithful performance of her criminal self.

For others, such as La Reina, concepts of the self, in relation to social roles, were in conflict, drawing a distinction between the legitimate and criminal self. But, this distinction is not always clear cut. Sometimes the roles, responsibilities and repercussions

of any the criminal character's role will promote, influence, or disrupt the tenets of the legitimate self:

I have devoted my life to my surviving children. My son hates me, because I took his power away. They would have killed him, too. And my daughter, she's ashamed of me...and I am proud of her for it. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

This was taken from a conversation she was having with a female criminal peer when asked about her rise to the top of the Mexican drug cartel. This distinction is not clear cut or homogenous which is apparent in the way that the media spoke of Bumpy:

Regarded by some as the Robin Hood of Harlem, by others as a ruthless criminal. (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

Such speech emulates the conflict that may arise from the cultivation of a criminal identity.

For some, like Stony, who I watched transform from a legitimate to a criminal form of self, they are able to grasp the divergence between the two. This was evident in a comment that Stony had made, prior to engaging in crime, regarding the discourse of committing an offence:

Well, too bad we ain't some hard-up crack head motherfuckers like Lorenz and them. Then we could do some suicidal shit like rob a bank. But we ain't crazy, so we can't. (Koules & Pollock, 1996)

This way of thinking about being a criminal was influenced by her immediate peers who projected the criminal life and character as something that was valuable, desirable, respectable, and even necessary. The dissemination of criminal thinking and style is evident in comments such as this one, made by Stony's friend, Frankie, concerning the need for committing crime and a means of justifying the ends:

Only way we going to see cash is if we take a bank...Look, we're just taking away from the system that's fucking us all anyway. (Koules & Pollock, 1996)

This type of understanding slowly made an impression upon Stony which facilitated the cultivation of a criminal identity.

The criminal self articulated through the pseudonym gives individuals access to a personhood that seems 'successful' within the context of the criminal subculture. This success assigns value and positive emotions to the criminal self. This was evident in self-narratives of characters, such as Boston George, who illustrates the sense of pride, accomplishment, and belonging that the criminal self facilitates within the individual's abstraction of self:

I was making way more money than I would make at a real job. I built a reputation for myself. People even started calling me Boston George. It was perfect. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

This internal thought process came to be how he defined his disposition to those who close to him, such as Barbie, his first love, when he exclaimed on the sunset beach of California:

I finally feel like I belong here, you know? It just feels right. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Anytime there was some sort of an intervention, which countered the criminal subculture's norms, values, and definitions, characters would reproduce a discourse of deviance which challenged the certainty of what is right or wrong. For example, when Boston George was arrested for drug trafficking, while in the courtroom with a sitting judge, he asserted:

I don't feel like what I've done is a crime and I think it's illogical and irresponsible for you to sentence me to prison. None of the real criminals of the world ever end up behind bars. I mean, when you think about it, what did I really do? Cross an imaginary line with a bunch of plants? You say that I'm an outlaw, you say that I'm a thief, but where's the Christmas dinner for the people on relief? (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

However, the attachment and investment into the criminal self, for certain characters, was not stable or clear cut, which was evident in talks of change; talk that would symbolize the individual's need or desire to live within the confines of their legitimate identity. Talk of change often followed a surge of accumulation or a major transformation to the

structure of their lives, which, temporarily, could alter the form of self that the individual would deem as valuable. For example:

I quit the business. Got out completely. I mean, why the fuck not. I'd made 60 million dollars and I was out clean I didn't believe in religion I didn't even particularly like kids but when Kristina Sunshine Jung came into this world, something in me changed. I knew what I was put on this planet for. It was the greatest feeling I ever had followed very abruptly by the worst feeling I ever had. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Boston George, in particular, had a great deal of trouble discerning what form of self was most valuable, not only to himself, but to the people around him. What is and is not valuable can be challenging to discern if one is so deeply entrenched within the subculture that their values and norms become that of the criminal group. Someone like Steak, who was in the process of discerning what it was to be a man within the confines of masculinity on the streets of Rio, allowed for perceptions of criminal 'nature' to dictate his impression of, and interaction with, reality:

A kid? I smoke, snort. I've killed and robbed. I'm a man! (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

This was the proclamation that he made after being called a kid, in reference to his pre-teen status, a label that he felt held him back. In Steak's eyes, it was important to be a man, and a man was deviant, he was deviant thus, he was a man.

Communications informing the self were not exclusive to the self-narrative of characters or what the character would project to criminal peers. There was also evidence of talk that could influence perceptions of self through the dialogue of associates. This conditioning process was evident in a comment that was made to La Reina from one of her closest confidants. After making a comment that inferred a lack of confidence she may feel in relation to her age, Lado, the confidant, responded to La Reina with reassuring support:

Yeah, she's pretty, but got a better-looking style, Madrina. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Beyond forms of flattery, characters were constantly reminded of the expectations associated with their criminal identity, as well as the associated worth of these attributes. within criminal undertakings, such as when Li'l Zé coaxed Steak in the violent take down of young looters:

Hey Steak'n'fries, let's see what you're made of...chose and then kill one of them...Kill one of them...I want to see what you're made of... (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

After Steak shoots one of the kids dead he is encouraged by Li'l Zé:

Well done!!...You're one of us...Very good Steak. (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

Or, take for example, the words of El Padrino to an up and coming Boston George:

I need an Americano who I can trust. One with honour, intelligence...Yes, and balls Mr. George. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Endorsements and praise are just as ample as the criticisms of their criminal identity. Criticisms came from individuals who are close to the criminal character, such as from the mother of Boston George:

You don't think people know you're a drug dealer? Everyone knows. It's no secret. How do you think that reflects on me? Every time I go out, I'm humiliated. I see the stares. I hear the whispers. How do you think that makes me feel? Did you ever once stop and think of me? So you go to jail. It's for your own good. You need to straighten your life out. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

This was the sentiment of Boston George's mother, after she had reported him to the police as a fugitive. The perceptions and social feedback of his criminal identity had come to affect the daily lives and disposition of everyone who was associated with him, and this affected the nature of the relationships that people chose to take on with him as a result:

Fred: Ermine, your son is here.
Ermine: Tell him I don't want to see him. Tell him he's not welcome here. Don't you dare step one foot in

this house. You're not my son, you hear me? I don't have a son anymore. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

This was the last thing George's mother said to him before he spent the rest of his life in a penitentiary. The perceptions of others that are negative are typically rebutted with anger and pride. An excellent example of this could be observed when Knockout Ned began to criticize the young, up and coming Steak:

What's in your head kid? Can't you see you're wrecking you're life with that maniac and a bunch of trigger-happy fools? Are you crazy? You're just a kid. (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

A comment like that would be met with animosity from the criminal character as a means of reinforcing the value of their criminal identity over a legitimate social existence.

Ultimately, those who were actively engaged in deviance often used the articulation of the criminal self as a means of inscribing a place for their self within the criminal subculture:

I think fast, I talk fast, and I need you guys to act fast if you want to get out of this. (Bender, 1994)

Defining one's self within the context of the criminal subculture provides a site for observing the intricate and complex influences on the construction of self. Next, I will explicate interpersonal processes which facilitated the exercise of power through the articulation of the criminal identity.

Power. One of the most important processes that were identified during the course of observation was the labyrinth of power that was being created within and among the criminal character's interactions. Sometimes, as in an instance with O, the sheer ability to construct a name has given the character a power over their lives:

Call me O. I was named after Ophelia, the bipolar basket-case in Hamlet, who committed suicide. So I cut it down to just O. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

The new name enabled O to feel as if she had embarked on a new part of her life, a part of her life that was of her own making and desire. This identity gave her a place within a social community which enabled her to exploit her sexuality as a means of 'getting what

she wants'. Sexuality, for women of this sample, was often cited as a mechanism of power being used within interactions. Cookie tried to coerce her boyfriend with sexual favours, caroling:

Come on, fuck me! Come on. Come on, do it to me. Do it to me...

Come on, take me! Don't I turn you on, huh? (Hanley, Peternel, Sulichin & Vinik, 2002)

But not every woman used their sexual prowess as a means of accessing power over individuals. La Reina, for example, used the power in her social position, status, to carve out a space within a male dominated enterprise. La Reina barked:

I'm not talking to you, Lado. I'm talking to Ophelia. You ungrateful piece of shit! I made you, motherfucker. I did! Don't forget whose tit you sucked! You're going to pay for it. Yeah, you, too. Second of all, you're going to find me the piece of rat shit...Or else, I'm going to have to go after your wives, and your children. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Or:

I wouldn't have a problem cutting both their throats. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Both of these explicate La Reina's willingness to use violence as a way of gaining control over the criminal peers in her environment. This power is afforded and recognized by the status of her identity within the subculture, an identity and status that can be articulated through the pseudonym.

In other instances the power utilized by characters within these media representations of the criminal environment was evident in speech that emulated a dogmatic arrogance that seemed to affect a number of characters:

A lot of people were pissed off, didn't matter. I was Escobar's guy, I was untouchable. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Power is relational to the kinships that have been established, as well as the criminal undertakings that have been accomplished making one 'qualified' to speak on criminal matters:

I was arrested in Chicago with six hundred and sixty pounds of grass. I think that qualifies me. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Or the power that is exacted from a reputation that is successful and confident in criminal tasks:

It's a lousy fifteen kilos. I piss fifteen kilos. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

This was the response of Boston George when someone questioned his ability to sell a large quantity of drugs. He touted the reputation of his namesake as a means of discounting any doubt cast upon his criminal identity and worth. For example, Mr. Wolf who was compelled to put a criminal peer in his place after the necessity of his involvement was questioned:

Buster. I'm not here to say "please", I'm here to tell you want to do. And if self-preservation is an instinct you possess, you better fuckin' do it and do it quick. I'm here to help. If my help's not appreciated, lotsa luck gentlemen. (Bender, 1994)

These comments were made as a means of re-inscribing the hierarchy, status, and quality of his criminal identity within the criminal subculture.

The mere iteration of the criminal identity quickly communicates a particular type of personality, territory, criminal undertaking, propensity for violence, and status among other things. Those who are a part of the subcultural group will be able to comprehend these identity types, whereas others, outsiders, would have to be brought into understandings, such as when Mister French lets it be known exactly who he is, and what this means:

Hey, hey, hey. Do you know me?...Well I'm the guy who tells you there are guys you can hit and there's guys you can't. That's not quite a guy you can't hit, but it's almost a guy you can't hit. So I'm going to make a fucking ruling on this now. You don't fucking hit 'em, you understand?...In the future when I tell you to do something, do it. (Bender, 1994)

Mister French's place within the criminal community gives him the power to speak with others in this manner, as well as have his word respected and acted upon by criminal peers that understand Mister French's access to the criminal underworld.

Consistent projections of the self and power enable individuals to establish relational trust. Trust was evidenced by the following.

Trust. Trust is a component in relationships which enable criminal proceedings to exist. In lieu of physical contracts, individuals need to be able to establish a common kinship among their peers in order to facilitate the ventures of criminal enterprises. Trust was evaluated through sentiments that explicate the terms of relationships and expectations.

Often, trust was established through the tenure of common kinship:

You been my peeps for twenty years! (Koules & Pollock, 1996)

Here the lapse of time establishes the foundation for trust, or:

I knew his father. I liked his Uncle Jackie better. (Brown, Davison, Hahn, Lee & Nunnari, 2006)

This shows a common kinship or history of relationships providing a foundation for building a new relation. When Boston George first came into contact with Derek Foreal, a marijuana supplier, and Derek informed George of his inherited trust, he stated:

You're very lucky you're friends of Barbie's. If you weren't, I'd never talk to you. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

This shows that through like associations, and historical establishments, trust could be constructed. Trust being built in relation to 'who you know' is a fact that George was very aware of and used to substantiate the creation of forged relationships (friendship, marriage) that could establish trust. This sentiment is understood by Boston George and articulated in his self-narrative while meeting his soon-to-be wife Mirtha:

There was only one problem, I would always be a gringo to the Cartel, but Mirtha could change all of that with two choice words 'I do'. So do I. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

George understood trust as being relational; something that could be created as a means to an end. So he created a marriage as a means of gaining trust, and business relations, with the Colombian cartel, to gain access to a drug market that had been just beyond his grasp.

Trust is something that O understood as being essential to the operation of relationships, something that established the standards of care and interactions among peers:

We trust each other; we take care of each other. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

O saw the care and affections of peers as a signal of how much one trusted the other. If and when trust was broken, characters, like La Reina, quickly iterated the nature of their disappointment and the degree to which this infraction would be met with repercussions:

We made you a deal to which we expected compliance. You lied to us. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Or when Boston George finally realized that he was being doped by his closest friends, Derek and Diego, he confronted his long-time friend, whom he had established trust with, on a New Year's Eve phone call:

Am I wearing lipstick? Because when I'm getting fucked, I want to make sure my face is pretty... You're buying directly from Diego, aren't you, you son of a bitch?...I bring you in, and this is how you repay me? You little homo! (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

When trust is broken there can be a number of remedies, ranging from the opportunity to correct the betrayal and regain trust through a given task:

We're happy to see you've learned to honor your partnership. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Or, on the other hand, resulting in the severance of a relationship, such as with Diego and Boston George:

No more brothers, Diego. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Ultimately, the pseudonym is used as a means of articulating the incorporation of a criminal identity; an identity that mimics the structure and intentions of a legitimate corporation in commerce. Only for a criminal, the business is crime.

Criminal Incorporation. The incorporation of the criminal identity through the use of a pseudonym is the articulation of a master status which is signalled by the individual's conscience performance and articulation of the criminal identity within social interactions. This process involves characters knowingly taking on the tasks, style, and

thinking of the criminal group as a means of producing and/or accumulating capital. The explicit cultivation of the criminal identity as an enterprise is evident in characters' speech.

The criminal groups of these characters were highly organized in terms of how to successfully complete criminal tasks:

It's not enough. The set-up is wrong. We're doing all the legwork, and at the end of the day, we're still paying retail. We're getting muddled...So, we need to get to the source...We make the pick-up, refuel once more in the Bahamas, and fly back on Sunday with the mom and pop traffic... I can transport the cocaine from your ranch here in Colombia to the United States, California. I've got planes and pilots standing by. (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

This speaks to the sophisticated network that was necessary for the successful undertaking of the criminal enterprise, an enterprise that was understood in relation to its market:

Cocaine exploded upon American culture like an atomic bomb. It started in Hollywood and worked its way East in no time. Everyone was doing it, I mean everyone. We invented the market place. In fact if you snorted cocaine in the late 1970s, early 80s, there's a 85% chance it came from us. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Or not so complex, some criminal character's undertakings were not as sophisticated in terms of its design and objective:

Phase one is complete, clean the car, which moves us right along to phase two, clean you two. (Bender, 1994)

A conversation by Stony's criminal group in the formulaic stages of their bank robberies emphasized the planning and co-operation among peers that is necessary for 'successful' criminal enterprises:

There's been a rift in this family... and that is not good for business. We want a plan like it was. Back to work, see? If only Tisean and Stony will come rob the bank with us. We started as a gang of four.

We must always be four. And you, Don Stony from the Bronx... can you accept your godfather's terms? (Koules & Pollock, 1996)

Terms of engagement as well as changes to 'management' were handled within criminal interactions. Steak, for example, sent a message to the opposing gang of new leadership:

Tell your boss that Knockout Ned and Carrot are now in command.
(Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

However, no one spoke the corporate language quite like Bumpy. Bumpy had an understanding of the crime business that paralleled the structure and function of most traditional businesses in America:

Where's the pride of ownership, huh?...Where's the personal service?...You see what I mean? Shit...I mean, what right do they have, of cutting out the suppliers, pushing out all the middlemen, buying direct from the manufacturer? All them Chinks putting Americans out of work...There's no one in charge...What right do they have cutting out the supplier? The middle-man. Buying direct. Putting Americans out of work. (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

This talk of business, supply, demand, merchandise, and pricing was also evident in the way that O spoke of the marijuana business:

They partner in several dispensaries and supply many of the clubs in California. And it's progressive because from what I've seen, at least it helps with the pain. Fifteen million satisfied customers can't all be wrong. But the big money comes from shipping it out of state.
(Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Or, founding moments:

Every successful business has an origin story. Microsoft and Apple were born in garages. Ben and Chon's was born on the beach. Ben went to Berkeley and double-majored in business and botany. Chon was between deployments. And they've been buddies since high school. So one day, they're sitting there thinking about what they're going to do, and Ben says...Afghanistan...Ding! That was the "founder" moment. So, Chon, from the most dangerous ground in the

world, smuggles back the finest seeds. It grew. Within six years, they had a couple of farms and a great customer base. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

As well as the business model and philosophy:

At high prices, they get up to \$6,000 a pound. Ben's guiding philosophy is basically Buddhist. Don't fuck with people. His true genius is that he takes 99 % of the paranoia and violence out of the business. The other 1%? That's where Chon comes in. Chon's philosophy is basically Buddhist...Don't fuck with Ben...For Ben, the dope business is green. His foundation has branches in Africa and Asia..."Money isn't enough," he says. "You've got to give your heart." (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

All of these excerpts demonstrate how the language and operations of legitimate business were comprehended and utilized within the criminal subculture; a business that was branded with the pseudonym.

Also, the rules of engagement were often explicated orally given the inability to engage in or enforce written contracts – again inscribing the nature and character of criminal style:

If I'm in the hole I pay 2 grand a week, if there's no profit I pay him 2 grand a week. (Brown et. al., 2006)

This was said as a means to enforce strict payment dates regardless of what 'troubles' the syndicate may encounter. Terms of a contract needed to be understood and clearly articulated between the parties concerned. La Reina barked the terms of the agreement between herself and two criminal peers:

(Distorted voice)* The same things we agreed upon. Three years. Except *normal voice* now, motherfuckers, it's 70-30. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

Rules of engagement were fluid and transitional. This proved to be a task for some and the ruin of others. What will follow is an in-depth discussion of the results that have just been discussed.

*Note: Text that is written in *italics* indicates stage direction/actor's performance cues.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The Pseudonym and Naming Systems

That Graecisms were the most popular form of name construction is not a surprising result, when considering one of the functions of alternative names, that is, being their ability to conceal the official identity of an individual (Mulsow, 2006). The use of an anagram or latinisation seem to be the least effective means of obscuring the official identity of the criminal. Since the anagram involves the mere rearrangement of letters that are found within the official identity, this, I suggest, would not effectively prevent the police or criminal character's peers from discovering their legal name and corresponding information. In regards to latinisation, and constructing a pseudonym that articulates a physical characteristic or punning of a feature, this form of name construction may also fail to conceal the individual's identity, since latinisations intentionally draw attention to an observable characteristic of the person. This attribute of the name construction, again, may impede the veiling function of the criminal pseudonym.

The widespread use of a graecism, to construct the pseudonym, has compelled me to consider the masking function of the pseudonym as being one of significance. Grecisms allow for the pseudonym to be constructed within the social history of the individual without revealing attributes or characteristics that could specifically lead to the apprehension or detection of the criminal actor. This is not to say that discovering the official identity of a person who uses a graecism for their pseudonym is impossible. But, those who have a name constructed of a graecism will require that law enforcement or criminal peers be 'close' enough to the criminal group so they would be able to learn more pertinent information. This is information that goes beyond the brand and may be useful to either apprehend or extort the person..

I argue that the pseudonym is an articulation of the criminal identity which acts as a representation and communication of the criminal's character, or brand. In an environment where the use of the official name is not preferred, due to detection by police or extortion by criminal peers, the pseudonym becomes a necessary fashion within the criminal subculture to express a specific personhood. The pseudonym acts as a brand for the character's criminal identity, and this brand has currency and is intelligible in

particular criminal environments. The criminal types who are most prone to the use of a pseudonym was an attribute that my research has also revealed, in relation to the characters' observed in these films.

Evaluating the type of criminal offender who could most likely use a pseudonym reveals an attribute of the criminal culture that is interesting since it points to a very particular group of offenders who are prone to the use of pseudonyms. Moreover, this reveals the social utility of the pseudonym, since its use seems to be most prevalent in criminal activities that could be considered 'social'. By social, I mean that its daily undertakings and tasks would typically involve the interactions and actions of, and with, other criminal peers on a regular basis, e.g., drug trafficking, robbery, and/or assault. This contention may become clearer when compared to criminal acts that I would consider to be more solitary in nature, e.g., vehicle theft, rape, murder, which arguably require far less social interaction among other criminal peers of the character, vis a vis the individual, to complete the 'task'. This preliminarily indicates that the pseudonym has social utility within particular criminal offence groups, and this led to another interesting observation regarding the social utility and character of the pseudonym.

Outside of the consideration that the pseudonym allows for the individual to conceal their official identity within the criminal environment, attention needs to be given as to how the pseudonym facilitates the membership of an individual to a particular criminal group. There are a number of interpersonal processes that are taking place when an individual constructs, performs, and extracts value from a criminal identity. It is these internal processes that I was intrigued to discover and will be the subject for the remainder of this discussion.

Performing the Criminal Identity

From my observations, I suggest there is a social utility of the pseudonym present within these media representations of the criminal subculture. The pseudonym functions as a tangible articulation of the character's criminal identity. The name symbolizes an aspect of deviance which facilitates processes of identity formation and management in regards to the self, power, trust, and incorporation - different from the official identity. I argue that these processes are useful in constructing a criminal character who is successful within the subcultural group. The pseudonym helps the individual identify with

and move between social roles by creating a concrete distinction between the official and criminal self. The types of behaviours, actions, and values of the criminal self may be comparable to the tenets of the official self, but are often at odds with the role or responsibilities of the official self. Using the pseudonym helps mediate some of the tensions that are laden in the cultivation of a criminal identity. Individuals are motivated to cultivate the criminal identity since it may allow the individual to exact power and trust within the criminal environment. Given the pseudonym's prevalence and essential character to the entrenchment of the criminal identity, criminal justice enforcement and administration need to be conversant of the ways in which social processes and institutions interact with and influence the formation of a criminal identity, which is articulated in the pseudonym. Next, will be a discussion of the conjectures I suggest concerning interpersonal processes and utility of the pseudonym within the criminal subculture.

The pseudonym and the self. Language is often used as a marker of personhood, who is enemy and who is not (Brinkman, 2013). The pseudonym, for the individual, marks the deviant dimension of their identity. The criminal identity is different from the official identity so, appropriately, a different name is used to signify the presence of their criminal character. The pseudonym is deeply connected to the subculture itself, as well as to the individual's perception of self in relation to their role within a given social environment. To be clearer, the name typically comes from and is derived within the criminal group and thus denotes the individual's membership to the criminal community. Criminal names may indicate the new identity within a given context.

The pseudonym itself tends to be formed out of the essence of the individual's physical, emotional, and spiritual characteristics. Grecism construction can be observed with many of my study's characters such as Boston George, Red Top, and Steak. All of these individuals had names that were given to them by criminal peers, and they incorporate the punning of a trait. Even more so is that these names remain an important element of social memory (Brinkman, 2013). This memory will leave an impression on the individual, and all those around her/him, of who they are and what that may represent. As George recalls:

Tuna and I became the Kings of Manhattan beach. If you bought grass, you were buying it from us. Bills were paid and I was making way more money than I could make at a real job. I built a reputation for myself. People even started calling me Boston George. It was perfect. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

What is most compelling about the impression left on memory is that these names mark a difference in their personhood in relation to their social circumstances. The name communicates the assumption of a criminal role, a name that is only intelligible and 'valued' within the criminal environment.

Deviant labels constitute a symbolic theme since they are interacting with wider themes of social representation (De Venanzi, 2008). The pseudonym has become somewhat of an individuation to the conventional criminal terms such as hooligan, gangster, or thug. The pseudonym allows for individuals to break from the criminal masses by establishing a name that gives special recognition to the criminal dimension of their identity (Collum, 2001). These names are constructed and sustained within the ethos of the social community's tutelage such as peers, the media, and family. The pseudonym is a fashion of the subculture that is re-inscribed as an acceptable, and even desirable, way of coming to express one's self within the criminal subculture. As much as social learning patterns may be identified within a specific locality, these systems of knowledge and influence are subject to wider influences within the larger society. Western ideals of wealth, accumulation, success, consumption, power, relationships, gender, etc., all affect the way an individual will 'choose' to construct the presentation of their self, given the tools that they have access to in their immediate environments.

The conventional use of criminal terms in mass communications has been usurped by criminal groups with the development of their own naming systems (De Venanzi, 2008). The naming system facilitates the construction of a criminal identity, which, in turn, is a distinction from the obligations of their official identity. The pseudonym comes to represent the character's criminal reputation and, even more importantly, the character's membership to the criminal community. The unique naming practice of the criminal community becomes somewhat symbolic of the space that has been carved out for the individual to act out their identity. Their reputation becomes known within the

criminal subculture and is attached to the pseudonym, which allows for their criminal peers to anticipate the nature of their interactions. Take the name, Mr. Wolf, for example, a character identified in my research whose name symbolizes the very distinct criminal character of Winston Wolf (official name). The name is one that, both, comes from within and is only understood by the individual and those who are connected to the specific subculture.

Mr. Wolf is a curt, fast talking, and quick thinking man who ‘solves problems’. He has a reputation for being brought into criminal activities that have somehow become unhinged, and it is his criminal expertise that is used to resolve any issues that are preventing the criminal act from being successful. Mr. Wolf has a good reputation within the criminal subculture as a man who can solve problems. He is aware of his expertise and abilities in solving problems which is apparent in his interpersonal exchanges with others, and the way that others have come to know and understand his criminal aptitude.

The name, Mr. Wolf, indicated to criminal peers his abilities and level of expertise within criminal undertakings. He has a reputation, as somewhat of a brand, that communicates a level of competence and quality ‘criminal service’. When Jules, the criminal who is in ‘trouble’ is made aware that Mr. Wolf would be coming to help, Jules replies:

You sendin [sic] the wolf?...shit Negro, that’s all you had to say.

(Bender, 1994)

The name, in itself, is able to evoke a particular response from criminal peers that indicates both membership to the criminal community, and a sentiment of ease and respect from criminal members in regards to Mr. Wolf’s criminal character. Mr. Wolf’s criminal role is valued and needed within the criminal group which enables him to feel, or at the very least project, a confidence and level of success in his social role/position as a criminal.

Cultural systems of knowledge contribute to and influence the way that an individual will come to understand their concept of self in relation to crime and deviance (Rosen, 2006). For example, Steak, a young boy growing up in the slums of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, developed an acquaintance with his criminal peers as a result of his spatial circumstances. He became more intimate with the criminal subculture when he was hired

as a food runner for one of the gang's bosses. He brought the boss steak and fries, hence the name, for a period of time until one day he is brought along for an initiation into the gang. Just like that, Steak is prompted to kill a young boy at the command of the gang leader Li'l Zé:

Hey Steak'n'Fries, let's see what you're made of...choose and then kill one of them...I want to see what you're made of... (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

Steak chooses and kills a little boy with a gun at point blank range. The shock and discomfort that Steak seems to intuitively feel in reaction to taking the life of a young child is quickly mediated by the positive feedback that the character receives from his criminal peers. His criminal friends are cheering and rejoicing, and Li'l Zé embraces Steak while saying :

Well done! You're one of us...very good Steak. (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

Identity is attached to perceptions which are bound by the material conditions and experiences of identity (Styhre, 2012). The value in Steak's criminal identity came from the positive emotion that became attached to the actions of his deviant character. This identity is even more valuable considering the context of his environment, and the identity types that are available to him, and are deemed as plausible to cultivate. For Steak, a criminal identity is both available and facilitated within his socio-spatial environment. The negative or contradictory emotions that may be felt by the individual during the course of criminal behaviours, i.e., the immediate reaction of Steak after killing the boy, are quickly valorized into positive emotions that are necessary for the successful cultivation of a criminal character (Weir, 2009).

The articulation of a pseudonym assists in mediating the role, responsibility and performance that the individual will be assuming for any giving reason within a particular environment. Going back to the example of Steak, he is a young boy who becomes socialized into the deviant lifestyle at a very young age. Negative emotions that were felt in reaction to the violent nature of his environment were reconceptualised to align with the discourse of behaviour that is shared among his criminal peers. This way of being is conducive to the everyday interactions and necessities of the criminal lifestyle. Slowly,

the individual will begin to correlate their sentiments concerning violence, aggression and authority to positive emotions. These emotions facilitate the projection of values and beliefs concerning the self as being deeply entrenched within the tenets of the criminal subculture. This is a sentiment that Steak clearly articulates when his manhood is challenged by another criminal character, and he proclaims:

A kid? I smoke, snort. I've killed and robbed. I'm a man! (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2002)

Steak slowly transformed the way he understood and presented his self in relation to others as he became even more entrenched with the criminal values of the group. Steak went from a young, naïve boy who could barely stomach violence, to a young ruthless criminal constantly looking for ways to act out violently as a means to bolster his character's criminal reputation among his peers.

Societal reactions to their role, and its performance, will influence the social character that is valued and cultivated by the individual. The way that social peers interact with an individual while performing a particular social role, and the perception of the individual regarding social interactions, will affect how an individual comes to understand and value the various dimensions of their identity. How one will come to know one's self is deeply inter-related to the way in which one perceives self in relation to the environment around them. As Habermas (1990) argues, "Persons must not be conceived of as owners of themselves. They are individuated through socialization, and cannot stabilize their own identity, since it does not 'belong' to them, by their own efforts, but only under conditions of inter-subjective recognition." (p. 130). Put differently, societal reactions to identity greatly influence the individual's self-view of a particular identity. Feedback will condition the individual's actions and behaviours in regards to the energy that they will put into the cultivation of a given identity.

More often than not, individuals will cultivate the identity that they believe can be played out in society successfully (Asencio, 2011). This successful identity will come to dominate other forms of self, becoming somewhat of a priority as articulated in a master status (Becker, 1963). Feelings of self-efficacy facilitate the cultivation and articulation of an identity since the perceived success is internalized and further acquired through social interactions with a particular social group (Boducszek et. al., 2013; Brezina & Topalli,

2012). Self-efficacy is a self-conception of accomplishment, skill, competency, and expertise in relation to a particular identity but is highly dependent upon the ways in which society reacts to the performance of a given identity. Empowerment comes out of the positive feelings that one feels in relation to their ability (Vickers & Decker, 2013).

Looking at characters such as Stony, O, Steak, or Boston George, it is clear how the character's criminal dimensions of self became a priority to cultivate since these individuals came to believe that feelings of success and accomplishment were a direct result of their criminal character. All of these individuals expressed feelings of success, ability, and value in their social role as a criminal. These feelings were typically understood in contrast to the feelings of loss, struggle, and exclusion that were experienced when they lived under the ethos of their official identity. The pseudonym is the representation of an identity which enables the individual to mimic the conventions of society (De Venanzi, 2008).

Stony, for example, had gained a sense of self, importance, and purpose in relation to her role and responsibility within her family. She was the sole provider for her and her brother since the death of her parents. Stony's identity had become deeply intertwined with the expectations of her role as a provider. When her innocent brother is killed by the police, Stony changes, or at least shows notion of a transformation, in relation to the perceptions, definitions, and behaviours she has, concerning crime and deviance. Formerly, Stony thought of crime and deviancy as something that existed outside of what she deemed an acceptable form of personhood, citing bank robbers as 'crazy'. As time went on, and her character began engaging in criminal acts, suddenly she found a way to justify her deviant behaviours as working against the larger systems of society which have been 'holding her down' and 'working against her' for all of these years. Furthermore, she came to establish a deep bond with her direct criminal peers as somewhat of a new family that would replace the vacancy left by her deceased parents and brother, a family that showed her love. These new conceptions facilitated the cultivation of her character's criminal identity. The way that she has come to understand her self and her criminal behaviours stands in stark contrast to the discourse of her official identity's performance.

After taking on the role of her character's criminal identity, a lot of her actions and behaviours were modified, such as her propensity for violence, in order to facilitate her criminal activities and interactions. Her criminal peers also facilitated the cultivation of the criminal identity. This new sense of criminal self was simultaneously being challenged by ruptures to her official identity. She was forced to confront the tensions between her character's official and criminal identity which proved to be burdensome and even impossible at times. The only relationship that Stony had which kept her attached to her official identity was with her boyfriend, Keith, who was not a criminal or a deviant character at all, as a matter of fact, he worked at a bank. It is only in Stony's interactions with Keith that remnants of her official identity come to the surface, but even still, she struggles to maintain the performance of her official self when found within particular circumstances such as discussing her daily activities, or her future aspirations.

The pseudonym helps mediate tensions between different forms of identity. Offenders mediate the tension between and among dimensions of their identity, and its performance, by a dis-identification of their official identity (Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010; Stang, 2008). The pseudonym's utility is the tangible way in which an individual is able to attribute personhood and performance as being different from their authentic self. In this light, it becomes clear how a fragile and unstable identity can be when considering the way conceptions and performances of self interact with the values, norms, and beliefs of the environment around the individual (Styhre, 2012). Since identity is attached to perceptions of social roles and the related success, value, and/or quality that is attributed to the given form of identity, they are bound by the material conditions and experiences that influence the construct of self.

Identity is bound by performativity since this creates a process where the individual is able to assess their capability in executing the role, as well as the cognitive site where self-narratives are constructed as a means of identity work (Goffman, 1959). Identity work is the linguistic turn in identity which makes it understandable in relation to the individual, industry, and greater society (Styhre, 2012). It is this narrative which enables individuals to obtain and perform various social identities as well as providing the context in which the tension between multiple, and transitional, identities take place (Larson & Pepper, 2003). This is also the site where the individual's agency in identity formation

can be explicated since this demonstrates the conscious process that is involved in the performance and balancing of multiple and, at times, conflicting identifications.

The red queen, Elena 'La Reina' Sanchez, provides an excellent illustration of how the characters' official and criminal identity can at times be deeply intertwined and almost impossible to tell apart. When her role as a mother and her position as the head of the Mexican cartel are at odds with one another her identities reticulate. In a conversation, La Reina expresses the way she perceives her place within the environment as such:

You could say that I inherited the position. When they killed my husband, whom I love very much, I had no choice...My twin sons were murdered. So, I have devoted my life to my surviving children...My son hates me, because I took his power away. They would have killed him too. And my daughter, she's ashamed of me.

And I am proud of her for it. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

La Reina is at war with herself, and it is through the linguistic distinction of 'mother' versus 'La Reina' that enables her to make a division between her role as the head of the Baja Cartel, a very powerful, strong, wealthy and influential women, and as a mother who is damaged, poor, and hopeless. The motherhood facet of her identity has suffered the loss of all of the people who she loves at the expense of her criminal identity and business.

The concepts of self are managed and performed according to the identity that is being articulated. There is a particular performance that is expected of certain social roles in a given context. The acceptance of one's social role is dependent upon the successful performance of that role (Goffman, 1959). The successful performance of the role is a social construction in regards to what the individual, and those around her/him, has come to expect as actions, behaviour, or attitudes that make up the social, and media, representation of the character's criminal identity. The responsibilities and appearance of a social role/relationship will condition the types of behaviours, as well as the name, that are present during the interaction.

Individuals do not simply abandon the essence of their official identity in so much as they use the basic foundation of their personhood's characteristics and modify them in a way that is more conducive to the projection of a criminal identity. Typically, actions

become more forward and aggressive in their performance, however, the desired outcomes of social interactions often mimic the ways in which the individual would interact with people while assuming their official identity. Characters such as O, Boston George, Mr. Wolf, and Stony all cultivated criminal characters that, although very different from their official identity, did attempt to reflect some of the core values and aspirations of their official character. Sentiments of their loyalty and limits were amplified while engaged with the character's criminal peers.

The pseudonym helps articulate and signify the form of personhood that is active. Who I am and who I would like to be (Habermas, 1990) is communicated through the use of a particular name and where tensions between identifications are mitigated (Larson & Pepper, 2003). Tensions between who you are and who you need to be (Costas & Fleming, 2009) can quickly be addressed through the articulation of the pseudonym, thus attaching notions of personhood to the criminal social position and one's reputation.

The criminal pseudonym is only intelligible and given value within the criminal subculture and among peers (Martire, 2012) which gives the name a unique value and property in the organization and classification of self in relation to the world around you. Next, I will discuss how the pseudonym influences the construction of the criminal identity.

The criminal character. I am suggesting that, cultural concepts, meaning, values and definitions make the pseudonym intelligible and valuable, given the context. The pseudonym only has a value within the character's criminal subculture itself. The pseudonym is not used outside of criminal interactions since these names do not fit the naming conventions of the larger society. The pseudonym is constructed within the subculture as a means to package and structure the communication of the criminal engaging the public discourse. In other words, the pseudonym, much like a corporate identity, is related to the corporate, visual, and organizational identity of the criminal brand. This brand is constrained by the known history of the individual and what others have come to expect from them in regards to their behaviours and actions within the market (Leitch & Davenport, 2011). Their way of coming to know and understand the subculture, and its style, influences and constrains the actions and behaviours of the

individual via performance, interpretation and feedback within interpersonal communications.

Character and identity is articulated and cultivated through the micro, meso, and macro-levels of interaction that the individual takes part in everyday (Chen, Lau, Tapanaya & Cameron, 2012). The characters' criminal identity is layered with multiple dimensions which enable the character to manage and perform the tenets of their social roles and relationships. Criminals are forced to construct the criminal character via the resources that have been made available to them. This becomes clear when considering identity as a product of everyday social interactions which consolidates the position they are within against the network they have access to on a regular basis.

Violence is typically understood as being a part of the criminal character, and this violent character is cultivated through criminal interactions. Criminals are exposed to the belief that strength, power and respect come from one's ability to exhibit criminal behaviours such as violence and aggression towards criminal others (Anderson, 1999). This ability to show nerve during criminal actions acts as a stabilizing force in the successful performance of the criminal identity. Stony, for example, is very violent and aggressive during her bank robberies which is crucial to the successful completion of the criminal acts. However, this violent behaviour is not exhibited during her performance of her official role as Lida, who is a sister and a girlfriend. Maybe the absence of her 'aggressive' attitude is somewhat overstated, since as I said before, her ability to be strong and assertive is definitely present during her official performances, but this aggression is amplified during her character's criminal interactions with peers where she seems to be a bit more careless and hostile. This switch in performance can best be understood in relation to her body language and the tone of her voice during criminal acts.

Who you are to yourself and to those around you is discovered through processes of socialization which enable the individual to perform, interpret and modify their behaviours in reaction to the dialogue that is found within social interactions, as a feedback for the individual to interpret, thus conditioning the appearance of their personhood (Blumer, 1969; Habermas, 1990). Boston George is quickly confronted with the expectations of his loyalty to criminal peers when he is witness to the murder of a criminal peer who is thought to be giving up information about the cartel to the police,

‘un rata’ (in English, a rat, meaning someone who snitches on other criminal peers and syndicates). Most of the criminals in this study are confronted with the rules and expectations of the criminal environment which influences when, where, and how the criminal identity is present.

Identity is bound by performativity (Goffman, 1959), so it is via the observation and comparison of individual’s behaviours during criminal acts, as opposed to non-criminal acts, which reveal the social representation of criminality. Mister French, for example, is always addressed as Mister French, or French for short, within his criminal interactions. When he enters a room, the attitude of others adjusts by becoming alert and responsive to whatever French has to say. A visit from Mister French is never a good sign since the individual can be almost certain that they will be confronted with his violent reputation. When the criminal pseudonym is being used then the individual’s actions and behaviours must align with the prescribed character.

A significant amount of my observations of Mister French were situated within the execution of the character’s criminal acts and from this I was able to observe Mister French, just as others did, cultivate a violent character which bolsters the essence of his criminal self. Although he is not always actively violent, it is very apparent that he is able and willing to be violent against anyone who poses a threat to the criminal enterprise. If one poses a threat to him or the organization he is associated with, one may be met with comments such as:

You make one more drug deal with that idiot fucking cop magnet of
a cousin of yours and I’ll forget your grandmother was so nice to me.

I’ll cut your fucking nuts off. You understand? (Brown et. al, 2006)

The criminal self is constantly re-inscribed through actions and behaviours that satisfy the projected performance of a particular criminal identity. This is a process which can be identified among a number of characters who I observed.

Through the cultivation and use of the criminal identity, the character is able to modify their everyday behaviours in a way that is conducive to the successful performance of the criminal identity. The individual has a constrained choice as to the ‘type’ of criminal identity that they would like to perform on the criminal stage. They will have to continuously work at the representation of their identity within the criminal

environment to ensure that their reputation latent in the pseudonym is projected and understood among peers. The name comes to represent the character and business of the name holder. The pseudonym is now a brand of the identity somewhat mimicking the appearance of a traditional, legitimate, corporate business (Abadinsky, 2010). Characters such as La Reina, Boston George, Mr. Wolf, Bumpy, and Mister French all worked at maintaining a particular image of their criminal self.

Having a name that articulates the aspects of self which are not conventionally accepted, while also granting the individual access to a form of self that participates within valued social projections/performances of self, allows the individual to know and understand the criminal self as a corporation of deviance – separate from the legitimate self. Identity work is bound by the cognitive process of self-narrative (Snow & Anderson, 1987). The criminal name comes to represent the business practices and philosophy that the individual's reputation evokes within the criminal environment. The name may give an immediate impression in regards to the criminogenic profile of the individual. The reputation of a particular pseudonym is loaded with culturally relevant and prevalent information that is discovered through the social history of the name's holder. The name contains indications as to the type of offender the individual is, where the individual is from and/or their associates, their criminal style, and how much the individual can be trusted.

Through a corporate identity/brand the name conditions both the behaviours of the holder as well as the actions that others will have within interactions with the name holder. As mentioned above, the mere presence of Mister French evoked a fear out of criminal peers who were aware of his reputation and propensity for violence. This image of being tough and violent forced his behaviours and actions to be in line with the perceived or projected self. Because the image of self is somewhat contrived and conditional it does not mean that the performance of self is not 'real' or meaningful. It is important to understand how social interactions and relationships condition the way that people understand not only the self, but also the way that they 'know' how to act or behave in any given environment. As Mister French, he needs to be tough, aggressive, barbaric, and unforgiving. It is what, and who, he has come to be 'known' as. The expectations of his performance have come to govern the choices he makes on a daily

basis in terms of how he interacts with criminal peers in terms of tone and semantics. Social feedbacks inform how successful he has been at fulfilling the social expectations of his character's criminal role. Or conversely, how others 'know' him to be has prescribed the type of person that he is.

Corporate identity, or, in this case, criminal identity, is related to branding, image, identity, marketing, etc. (Leitch & Davenport, 2011). Although many characters spoke of their self and their business with the language and attitude of traditional and legitimate businesses, no one quite articulated and mentored criminal peers in the philosophy of bureaucracy quite like Ellsworth "Bumpy" Johnson, the Robin Hood of Harlem. Bumpy understood his place and the criminal subculture as a business structure that is comparable to the most established American corporations throughout time. He discusses his place within the drug trafficking subculture using the language of corporations. He, like other characters, identifies the niche of their market in relation to the supply and demand of their product from customers, the tiered character of the business that involves the cooperation of manufacturers, distributors and sales, and the concerns over the style of management that will allow the business to overcome obstacles that may present themselves during the course of business.

The reputations of their brands are constrained by the known history and performance of the individual that others have come to expect in regards to their business performance. Very much like the reputation that supersedes Mr. Wolf, or the growing reputation of Boston George who becomes known, internationally, as an ambitious man of his word, the reputation of the character's criminal identity is cultivated within the subculture among their peers. The criminal community is an environment that continues to attach positive emotions of the self to the deviant behaviours of such individuals' criminal identities.

As socialized beings, it can be understood that an individual would incorporate the strategies of commercial companies, in regard to marketing, as the template for representing the criminal self. Through the use of culturally relevant material, the corporate identity is projected as attractively as possible, and this notion, of putting your best foot forward, has conditioned the way that we, as individuals, present our self in the social community (Skaar, 2009). The pseudonym acts as a culturally tangible, relevant,

and intelligible artifact of identity. The pseudonym is a name that communicates the quality and integrity of business interactions in the future according to the ‘corporations’ performance in the past. For this reason, the individual has to constantly be aware of the image and social conscious associated with their brand, so that they are able to bring business practices in line with a structure that can be sustained and is profitable.

Concepts of self, in relation to identity, are influenced by and constructed within processes of self-reflection and interpretations, as well as within the interactions and reactions that an individual is subject to in their everyday experiences, but what really needs to be understood as a result of my research is that concepts of self and identity are also constrained by the linguistic processes of the larger society. In this sense the personal is political (Hall, 2011).

The self is a social psychological construct that is motivated by self-perceptions and interpersonal communications that influence the course that an individual will take in life (Meek, 2011). Social contexts such as the life domain, intersectionality, locality, normative ideals, and cultural traditions will all contribute to an individual’s concept of self. With this in mind, it becomes evident how the socio-political apparatuses of the community can contribute to the way that an individual comes to understand himself/herself in relation to the world around them, as well as within the socio-legal system which constrains them. In other words, social institutions interrogate, define, and interact with constructions of the self and identity (Nuzzo, 2013). These constructs have a symbolic value and material influence on the way that one will come to know and understand the self and its performance (Brinkman, 2013).

The name that someone uses, or how the use of a name will change in accordance to social circumstances shows how the tangible articulation of identity marks the context in which people live. Context is everything when considering how an individual will use a particular identity type, and how identity may give access to the exercise of power for that social identity, and this is what will be discussed next.

Power. I contend that the pseudonym influences the distribution of power by transforming the discourse and performance of self in order to garner a sense of control through a constructed position. Power in this sense must be understood as a discursive formation that is socially constructed and derived as a means of exerting influence and

authority within any given context (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1991). The power of the pseudonym comes from its ability to interact with or communicate respect, reputation, status, capital and hierarchy. This power is not unchanging and is dependent upon the individual in relation to how they interact within the cultural setting.

The criminal identity that is represented by the pseudonym enables the character to redress the power of their identity through the acquisition of another identity which enables them to exercise power situationally. As Berkowitz and Belgrave (2010) argue, identity work can be employed as a means for individuals to counter the marginalization that is laden in their 'official' identity through the accumulation of power. Through performance, individuals are able to garner a sense of power from the audience to which they perform (Ashley, 2011); transforming the self into a powerful position through the deliberate construction of an identity that is meant to counter the marginalization of their position (Berkowitz & Belgrave, 2010). Through the careful management of appearances, individuals are able to prescribe to a form of identity that is deemed as dominant and desirable in relation to their age, sex, orientation, and ethnicity (Ashley, 2011). La Reina, Boston George and Red Top illustrate the 'constructing self' function of the pseudonym, in different, yet equally beneficial ways.

Boston George, his criminal character, was constructed in opposition to the life he lived as a child. George learned at a very young age that money is what gained the love and respect of the people in his life and immediate surroundings (parents, love interests, the bank). He watched his Mother constantly stress about what little money the family had, and how unhappy this made her. Even though his father worked hard every day of his life, this was not enough to keep his family whole and his wife happy. George made the conscious decision as a child that he never wanted to live like his parents, poor and unhappy. As soon as he had the chance, George left for California where he began selling drugs and 'earning' his way out of a life of misery. For George, power came from who you are and what you have, so he cultivated his criminal character since it allowed for him to counter feelings of failure and inadequacy.

His ability to provide financially for himself and, eventually, his family, is connected to the way that he, and many others, have been socialized to understand the role of a man within the family and larger society (Beesley & McGuire, 2009). His

gendered role is attached to the belief that he must be able to provide for and take care of his family. Failure to do this would result in the image and perception of his male personhood to be degraded, and the experience of this degradation is something that George is all too familiar with from his childhood with his parents. So he does everything in his power to cultivate his criminal character, which he came to understand as the reason that he has been able to access the conventions of society and create a sense of accomplishment. This was a success that he felt he was not going to be afforded to the social position of his official identity.

On the other hand, La Reina and Red Top are both women who are operating within a male dominated criminal subculture. For La Reina, it is within the Mexican cartel where she is constantly working at living up to the title of her name, 'The Queen'. Power is something that is gained, earned, and cultivated. Power, and its performance, is something that she needs to exercise and re-inscribe to in order to be successful and respected within the criminal environment of La Reina. In one instance, when some of her workers undermine her authority and position within the criminal group, which also costs her a lot of money, La Reina snaps:

I'm not talking to you, Lado. I'm talking to Ophelia. You ungrateful piece of shit! I made you, motherfucker. I did! (*Clears throat*) Don't forget whose tit you sucked!... You're going to pay for it. Yeah, you, too. Second of all, you're going to find me... the piece of rat shit ...that gave up our stash house to Azul. Or else, I'm going to have to go after your wives, and your children. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

La Reina is able and willing to counter some of the obstacles that her gender may pose in the traditional social world by consistently being aggressive in her criminal performances with her peers.

La Reina lives in the crux of interpreting the value of the power that is laden in her name, and its origin. She understands her position as being the result of taking the power away from her son. The power of her character's criminal position is clearly understood within the criminal culture which is evident from the disconnect she has with her son in light of her taking his role as the criminal boss.

The concepts of identity cannot be separated from systems of power and knowledge. Who we are, in relation to social concepts such as our gender, age, ethnicity, and wealth, will condition the experience that an individual will have in the world. Socio-cultural conditions will affect the opportunities and relationships that are realized within the lifetime of any given person. The social interactions that one experiences will make a lasting impression in regards to the emotions that are evoked during the exercise of power in a particular social environment. When an individual encounters a shortcoming that they perceive to be attached to the marginalization of their previous social position, a positive emotion is attached to the power that is situated within their criminal identity since they are able to counter the disadvantage (Collum, 2001).

The positive emotion that a character will attach to the power of their position is not static and can change when the individual perceives value within another social position that the criminal identity may not facilitate. Change talk, in both directions, is useful when there is a need to repair the perception of an image. Boston George expresses the need to remove himself from the criminal life of Boston George and into the family focused life of George. As George says:

I didn't believe in religion, I didn't even particularly like kids but when Kristina Sunshine Jung came into this world, something in me changed. I knew what I was put on this planet for. It was the greatest feeling I ever had...I wanted to be a father, a good father. Just like my old man was to me. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

After the birth of his daughter, George decided that he did not want the burden of his criminal identity. He no longer valued the status of his criminal identity, he wanted to cultivate the identity of his official self, and he had the power to do so. Or did he? Regardless of a valiant effort to distance himself from the criminal culture, he was abruptly confronted with the power of his criminal identity and its reputation as somewhat of an external force that kept gaining power and momentum without the direct participation in criminal activities. His criminal reputation had made him a target of law enforcement, as well as made him vulnerable to the gravitational pull of the money to be made with his criminal peers.

The power that individuals are able to redress is situational (Berkowitz & Belgrave, 2010). They have constructed a criminal identity which has enabled them to exercise power, however, this power is only assumed by the criminal, not the official, identity. The criminal pseudonym is not intelligible outside of the character's criminal environment. It is only when the individual is in the appropriate environment that the power of their pseudonym can be understood and therefore used (Collum, 2001). There is no currency for the pseudonym within traditional society, and the official identity itself is not infused with the status of the criminal, so the individual, like Boston George is caught at a crossroads. If the criminal identity is abandoned, so is the power vested in it.

The pseudonym equips the individual with a projection of a self that is attached to a social position or hierarchy within the criminal subculture. Red Top is another excellent character who demonstrates how a criminal position eradicates some of the disadvantage of the official identity. Through her criminal identity, she is able to exercise and show a display of power in relation to the position of others around her in the criminal group. Redtop understands that the drugs and money she interacts with on a daily basis have an influence over individuals, as users and distributors. She understands her position within the company as being a gatekeeper to the drugs and money. Her position is higher than the working girls which is evident in the fact that she does not do the bagging of drugs herself, she is the supervisor of these workings. She is clothed, while all of the other women are buck naked to avoid opportunities of theft from the company for their own use or for profit, and she parades through work space with, what I observe to be, a calm and confident strut, her shoulders pulled back, and an heir of privilege. She is aware of the power she holds since she is exposed to a substantial amount of the drugs and money that is made by the Lucas family. Her privileged access to assets of the company is representative of how close she is to the family.

Red Top is the manager of the 'drug store' which is the location that is set up for the packaging of drugs after they have been delivered by cultivators, before they hit the streets for sale to users and lower level peddlers. Red Top is a known and trusted individual within the criminal group which is evidenced in her having a relationship with the drug empire's boss, Frank Lucas, as well as in her ability to wear clothes in the drug store. Red Top is the person you need to know to get past the doors of the drug store. The

media representation of her position within the criminal subculture conditions the way that people perceive and interact with her, which re-inscribes the power of her character's position and, thus, her reputation.

Exerting a socially constructed form of self gives the holder influence and authority in a given context as it relates to respect, reputation, status, capital and hierarchy. Who they are and how they want to be perceived within a particular setting can be conditioned through exercises of power. Individuals are able to articulate through speech a particular character that the individual cultivates as a means of projecting an image of power, status and reputation. This articulation reveals the site where cultural and intellectual identity is made concrete in relation to their social position. Speech acts allow for individuals to mediate any tensions that may exist between who they are and who they need to be (Costas & Fleming, 2009). This paradox of identity formation is in relation to the conceptions of self that are conducive to processes of dis-identification which separates the imagined, and projected, self from their inherent inner self.

Mr. Wolf has power in knowing that his character's role is a valuable asset to his criminal peers. He is aware of his expertise and reputation of being able to solve problems. This confidence is apparent in his interpersonal communications with others who he interacts with during criminal undertakings. The power of his character's criminal reputation is also apparent in the way that others, his peers, have come to know and understand his criminal identity and abilities. His criminal role is valued and needed within the criminal subculture which enables Mr. Wolf to feel, or at the very least project, a confidence and level of success in his social role/position.

Mr. Wolf uses speech to reify the power and position of his criminal identity. At one point, during a criminal activity, Mr. Wolf is curt and affective with getting his point across to two criminal peers when he says:

Get it straight, Buster. I'm not here to say 'please,' I'm here to tell you what to do. And if self-preservation is an instinct you possess, you better fuckin' do it and do it quick. I'm here to help. If my help's not appreciated, lotsa luck gentlemen...So pretty please, with sugar on top, clean the fuckin' car. (Bender, 1994)

The criminal peers with Mr. Wolf quickly apologize for giving Mr. Wolf a hard time and proceed to do exactly as they are told. Their appreciation was further illustrated when they graciously thanked Mr. Wolf for his time and services, expressing a gratuity in being able to work alongside the legendary Mr. Wolf. The main point here is that speech and language can be used as a communicative means of challenging or re-enforcing particular images of self in relation to power.

Communications may lend or take away from the power that the individual is able to exhibit (Thornborrow, 2002). I was also able to observe Cookie, a young female drug addict who is giving up power in almost every one of her interactions with criminal peers. Cookie does not have much of a life outside of her, and her friends' addictions. She is in an abusive relationship with Spider Mike, a local drug dealer and user. Her boyfriend openly disrespects her in relation to their emotional and sexual relationship. Cookie does not explicitly exercise power, in a positive sense, within her environment as a user. The drugs have control over her and her peers, and her boyfriend seems to hold a lot of the power in the relationship, in relation to her social position and to his access to the drugs.

Cookie is spoken to by her boyfriend, Spider Mike, almost always in a derogatory way that is meant to break down her personhood with comments like:

What the hell is the matter with you, you little slut? Genghis Cunt!

(Hanley et. al, 2002)

Cookie's inability to, both, stop this type of talk from others toward her and respond to these comments in a way that reflects tensions in the distribution of power, illustrates how speech acts can also be used to take power away from individuals. Through the cultivation of a criminal identity, power can be gained, or taken away, within the subcultural group. Again, the power latent in the name only has currency within the criminal group.

The subculture is the site where the linguistic construction of the pseudonym is made concrete in relation to their social character, giving them access to the power, knowledge, and inner workings of the subculture. Identity then becomes a subjective model through which the individual is able to access and interact with the subculture (Martire, 2012). The exclusive power of the name in the given environment is evidenced in when and how the pseudonym is used within interactions. The name is used during

business transaction with criminal peers. Law enforcement officers, in these media representations, use the pseudonyms as a way of identifying the individuals as opposed to their official name. This treatment of the pseudonym, by law enforcement, was observed with Stony, Cookie, La Reina, and Mister French.

The only time that the pseudonym was used outside of the immediate criminal subculture was in the media. Within the media, street names were used in contrast to the official names. This dichotomy communicates to the public that the individual has ingrained criminal values, as demonstrated in their adherence to the pseudonym's presence and use, which are a threat to 'normal' society. The media uses the pseudonym as a tangible trait which indicates an undeniable criminal self, the gangster. This discourse was observed in the media reports that were concerned with Stony and her peers during a high speed chase, or in the media's address to Bumpy's death where the reporter explicitly identifies the contrast between the character's official and criminal identity when he states at the funeral proceedings:

Some say Bumpy Johnson was a great man, according to the eulogies, a giving man, a man of the people. No one chose to use in their remembrances the word most often associated with Ellsworth "Bumpy" Johnson, "Gangster," whose passing has brought a who's who of mourners on this chilly afternoon...Bumpy Johnson, age 62 when he passed, was a folk hero among Harlem locals for over four decades...Regarded by some as the Robin Hood of Harlem, by others as a ruthless criminal. (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

The pseudonym articulates a form of identity through language which reveals where and how the individual is situated and the environments where the individual is able to exercise power. The use and articulation of the pseudonym also interacts with the paradox of identity and its formation (Costas & Fleming, 2009) as it relates to the individual's perceived and projected reputation, status, reliability, and trust.

The caveat of power that is laden in the criminal identity is that the ability to switch between the official and criminal self, as somewhat of an identity management, gives a false sense of power. This is because the relationship between language and speech in informing identity discourse and disclosure should also be understood in

relation to democratic institutions since it reveals the way in which particular segments of the community are alienated, silenced, and dominated (Topper, 2011). The relationship between speech and power both produce and sustain a particular ethos within public sentiments concerning identity. These sentiments of marginalization are internalized by individuals through political practices of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is historically situated and reproduced within the confines of those who have access to systems of cultural knowledge. This cultural knowledge can be used as a means of establishing and communicating trust (Zaitch, 2005).

Trust. Trust is a component in relationships that aids in establishing sentiments of loyalty, reliability, reputation, and skill. Trust can influence the state of both personal and business relationships. Trust is essential to the performance of a business, as well as a strategy that individuals can use as a means of defending themselves, gaining power, and/or constructing identity (Zaitch, 2005). Trust can be understood within the discourse of friendship which enables markets, in relation to the mechanics and structure of the organization, to function (Taylor & Potter, 2013). Trust is a part of social capital since it can ensure that an individual behaves in a way that is conducive to the particular environment/setting where they may find themselves (Smith & Hamilton, 2013).

Referring to the idea that organized crime groups may mimic rational business models, it becomes clear how the pseudonym can be used to communicate a particular ‘corporate’ image, which enables the individual to access, and gain, a reputation within the criminal group (Abadinsky, 2010). The pseudonym is used to encapsulate and articulate sentiments of loyalty, reliability, reputation and skill.

I argue that treating the pseudonym as a brand enables the character to communicate and anticipate criminal interactions and perceptions. This utility is understood by characters such as Boston George, Mister French, La Reina, and Bumpy. The pseudonym, for these characters, represents and communicates a product and its interactions within the criminal environment. From my observations it would seem that the indication of a particular name denotes the type of deviance the individual is ‘known’ for, the territory of the individual, their character, and the quality of services in regards to the quality of product and reliable character.

The pseudonym is a source of power and recognition through the name, the brand articulates the types of relationships and skill that that holder possesses. Someone like Mister French built his brand out of the everyday interactions that he had in the criminal environment. He has the authority to determine who is, or is not, trustworthy and reliable within the community. As the trusted confidant of the criminal group's boss, he establishes trust through relationships and maintains it through the merit of his propensity to be violent towards those who try to cross him or his colleagues. He is able to gauge his level of trust initially vis a vis how well he knows the party or people that are, or have been, associated with the individual in question. The trust he does or does not have is influenced by that state of his relationship to the people who the individual may know (Taylor & Potter, 2013).

Another person, Boston George, is very cognizant of how trust can be established through the status of relationships. As George is trying to climb the ladder of international drug trafficking, he requires a mechanism that will instill trust within him among his Colombian criminal peers. He has already gained trust through his reputation and quality of business but he is able to take his amount of trust to another level by marrying an individual who shares a common culture with the Colombian drug lords. As George states:

There was only one problem, I would always be a gringo to the cartel, but Mirtha could change all of that with two choice words 'I do'. So do I. (De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

Just like that, he married Mirtha, a Colombian, as a means of appearing as attractive as possible to the Colombian cartel which would help his drug business grow and prosper.

The business transactions of these character's criminal groups rely on the reputation of the individual which is articulated in the pseudonym, as a way of instructing the level of trust and reliability that can be vested in the individual. The pseudonym acts as a line of credit within the commerce of the streets. The name represents the cash flow and type of clientele that one has, which is important considering the nature of some criminal activities. For example, drug trafficking requires the sale and distribution of a product that has a real monetary value without a concrete means of bookkeeping and background or credit checks. Trust is not only a necessity of business transactions, but it also has a

dynamic character which helps ensure that the behaviours of the individual stay in line with the interest of the subcultural group in the absence of legitimate means to enforce the agreements of transactions (Zaitch, 2005). If cultivated in an appropriate manner, the name communicates a business practice with high quality products and services.

For George, the drug dealing business was set up, managed, and administered just like any other business in the world. He is concerned about his costs, customers, production, and investments so that he is able to establish himself in a market where he will be able to generate a large amount of profit. But, more than anything, George wants the reputation of his brand to be correlated with quality and integrity. Like George, Bumpy understands his criminal undertakings as being comparable to the arrangement of legitimate American organizations in relation to how the ‘companies’ are established and operated. More than any other character, he expresses this idea of corporate ownership and responsibility as he is mentoring an up and coming drug trafficker, Frank Lucas, when he begs the question:

Where's the pride of ownership, huh?...Where's the personal service?...You see what I mean? Shit...I mean, what right do they have, of cutting out the suppliers, pushing out all the middlemen, buying direct from the manufacturer? (Gazer & Scott, 2007)

Bumpy describes a style of business conduct that he can be proud of, and that, he believes, emulates a business of integrity that will be successful in the marketplace.

Symbolically, the name articulates the internal cohesion, identity, and integration of the criminal group. For example, with La Reina, trust is something that is established and fostered through honest relationships that respect the chain of command. Trust is something that has to be proven by outsiders and maintained by insiders. Once trust is gone, it is difficult to re-establish. La Reina is known within the subculture as an individual who operates business in an honest manner, however, if she is crossed, she lets it be known that disloyal actions will be met with vengeance. This philosophy was evident when she came into contact with an individual who is believed to be leaking information to a rival gang. She has this individual interrogated in a ‘public display’ of torture which not only gives a power to her name, it also sends a message to other individuals who may have thought about breaking her trust, since they are now able to

anticipate that bad behaviour will be met with swift and violent justice, La Reina's justice.

Another way of establishing trust through the use of the pseudonym is via the discourse of friendship as opposed to business relations (Brinkman, 2013). Characters like O and Cookie establish their sense of trust among peers through the cultivation of relationships that display a particular nature of the relationship. Trust, for O, is something that is developed between people through a relationship and a common kinship. Trust for O is rooted in a mutual love and respect between the parties which was expressed when she spoke of her relationship with Ben and Chon:

We trust each other, we take care of each other. (Borman & Kopeloff, 2012)

For O, as well as Cookie, perceptions of trust are not static. The amount of trust that is invested within a relationship is highly dependent upon the interpersonal communications and interactions of the individuals concerned.

Friendship discourse is an integral component of buyer/dealer relationships, which is evident with almost every single character observed (Belackova & Vaccaro, 2013). However, it was interesting to see the way that Cookie's relationships were cultivated, which allowed for her to perceive a trust and commonality with her criminal peers, yet this trust is somewhat convoluted since it is clouded and motivated by drug addiction. This form of trust makes it difficult to evaluate how genuine the relationships are. Ultimately, most criminal relationships are built on a shaky foundation of trust. Not only are individuals being brought together in the context of deviance, but, also, they do not have the legitimate means of rectifying a rupture to the trust in their relationship, such as the courts.

Trust is necessary for the operation of a successful partnership and the pseudonym enables the criminal individual to incorporate their criminal identity to interact with the character's criminal subculture, in terms of market and relations. Another way that the character's criminal identity interacts with peers is through the administration of the criminal justice system.

The pseudonym in the criminal justice system. In the observed media representation, the criminal justice system uses the pseudonym during the course of

investigations. What is more interesting is the way in which the criminal justice system, as a whole, interacts with the character's criminal's perception of self, and the salience of criminal identity performance during the course of involvement within judicial and corrections apparatuses, for active offenders. The criminal justice system informs the social milieu concerning their attitudes and beliefs of crime and deviance. The criminal justice system's use of the pseudonym does not seem to be cognizant of the cultural value and context in which that name has been cultivated by the social environment. Moreover, the criminal justice system's administration of offenders with known criminal attributes, such as a pseudonym, causes them to be classified and managed within the criminal justice system in a particular way. This praxis may inadvertently contribute to the efficacy of the pseudonym within the criminal subculture, or result in negative interactions with the criminal justice system (Anonymous, 2004).

Deviant labels, such as the pseudonym, are interacting with the concepts and ideologies of the larger society which, in turn, constrain the type of identity that an individual may feel is available to her/him (Aresti, Eatough & Brooks-Gordon, 2010). For Boston George, his deviant character is able to participate in the accumulation and display of wealth which he believes is integral to realizing the 'American Dream'. On the other hand, Bumpy is a criminal character who drew out the who's who of New York, including prominent criminal justice figures, who were all present at the prominent gangster's funeral. This type of association communicates a degree of respect, or at least tolerance, in regards to the criminal activities of Bumpy. Furthermore, the linkage is evidence of the possible relationships that have been forged between Bumpy and law enforcement. This type of public relation both strengthens and legitimates the power of Bumpy within the community, as much as it facilitates the presence and cultivation of the character's criminal identity in that particular space. The public comes to know of deviant individuals via criminalized labels (Becker, 1963), such as the pseudonym, which communicates a distinct break from the conventions of society that prescribe to lawful behaviours and traditional naming systems.

These media representations' use of the pseudonym within law enforcements' public relations identifies individuals within the context of the culture where they are presumed to have membership. The proliferation of the pseudonym enables the police to

engage the community with character traits that are useful given the cultural currency of the pseudonym. However, I maintain that the use of the pseudonym may fail to be sensitive to the cultural value of such a name and alternatively has developed another way of formalizing and documenting the criminalization of an individual based on a distinct feature of personhood (Pavlich, 2007). The very style and fashioning of pseudonyms is understood in opposition to the conventions of traditional society and the naming practices that have a positive value. The incorporation of a pseudonym may indicate, to stakeholders, a level of criminality that is more threatening. A petty thief or a teenage vandal who has not created a tangible articulation of the criminal identity may demonstrate a lack of commitment to the stability of the criminal identity. Therefore, I propose that the stability of the criminal character is made evident through the use of a pseudonym.

When Stony and her gang of female bandits began to gain a public status on the nightly news, this made an impression on processes of identity formation in regards to how she began to understand the shift in the way that her identity is understood within the criminal and 'legitimate' community. The public notoriety bolstered her criminal identity, thus giving her feelings of accomplishment and membership within the criminal environment. This criminal inclusion came at the expense of being excluded from the larger society, since the deviant label of her character was being presented to the community as dangerous, deviant, and a threat to the fabric of society. Once the gender of the female bandits is discovered, this adds another dimension to the way that her criminal identity is understood within legal and social apparatuses.

The pseudonym, in these films, is presented and used within most police investigations and data collection processes. This inclusion communicates that the police have already come to realize that the pseudonym is culturally relevant and intelligible, explaining its use and collection (Cole, 2001; Pavlich, 2007; Spearman, 1999; Wiener, 1994). However, there needs to be an acute awareness of how the use of the pseudonym may actually motivate the cultivation of a criminal identity in lieu of the deviant label and associated social feedback that the criminals receive.

Characters such as Mister French, Red Top, Boston George, La Reina, Bumpy, Cookie and Stony, demonstrate how the criminal justice system indicates an awareness of

the pseudonym. In light of their pseudonyms, and the attributed criminal character, the legal apparatus interacts with these individuals in a way that facilitates the saturation and intelligibility of their criminal reputation within the criminal environment. During police investigations, the use of the pseudonym was present during the processes of identification. This may communicate the police officer's intent of creating a connection or bond with the criminal that the criminal will deem as genuine, therefore making them suitable for police co-operation. Or, the use of the pseudonym indicates the legal systems propensity to objectify the image of a criminal as being a phenomenon that exists outside of the confines of humanity and is understood as a named disease. The criminal identity is constructed as something that is inconspicuous, and can take the moral ground of any 'weak' individual, making the criminal a monster that needs to be identified and fixed within the confines of the criminal justice system.

The deviant character is identified and punished within the criminal justice system. The prison system, in these films, are constructed as a place that will be able to correct the deviant nature of individuals through punitive measures. This sentiment is understood within the cries of George's mother, when he is being arrested, as she calls to George to use his time in prison as an opportunity to 'fix' himself and 'straighten out his life'.

However, it appears that prison may actually have the exact opposite effect on the criminal and their perceptions of available identities. Boston George says it best when he speaks of his time within a Federal Penitentiary, Banbury, as he describes how the criminal justice system actually facilitated the refinement of his criminal skills through the interactions that he experienced with his criminal peers, a feature that is exacerbated while in prison. George states that:

Banbury wasn't a prison, it was a crime school. I went in with a Bachelor of marijuana and came out with a Doctorate of cocaine.

(De Luca & Kacandes, 2001)

George's time within the corrections institute enabled him to cultivate the criminal dimensions of his identity. He was able to master particular skills through the information that he gained from criminal peer interactions. More importantly, George was exposed to feelings of value, belonging and competence in relation to his ability to disseminate his criminal knowledge to his criminal peers. His peers seem to have a genuine awe for the

type of criminal activities that George has been able to accomplish thus far in regards to smuggling drugs across the country. These types of interactions strengthen his identification and values concerning his criminal character as well as bolstering the reputation of his identity within the criminal community on the streets as well as within the prison culture.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

My research has explored characters, in 12 films, who have taken on the pseudonym as a means of utilizing and cultivating a criminal character that differs from their official, law abiding, identity. It has been shown that the pseudonyms allow for an individual's criminal character to emerge and be articulated in a concrete way within the criminal subculture. This new identity often permits the holder to exercise or exhibit a power that has not been afforded to the social position of their official identity. The criminal characters, in these films, and their membership in the criminal community are made tangible through the use of a pseudonym.

The pseudonym facilitates the individual's claim of membership within the criminal community without abandoning the dimensions of self that prescribe to the conventions of larger society. I suggest that the pseudonym has many functions, one of which is concerned with enabling the individual to objectify and dissociate with the criminal character through the active construction and cultivation of a criminal character who is articulated through the pseudonym and realized through the performance of the criminal character (Goffman, 1959; Styhre, 2012).

The pseudonym, in these films, has been shown to be a mechanism that enables an individual to manage and move between the character's official and criminal self in relation to the social roles, responsibilities, and behaviours of each identity respectfully. The pseudonym both indicates a departure from the official identity and any of the roles that belong to the official identity (mother, husband, son), as well as establishes the criminal identity so that a status and reputation can be built within the criminal subculture. Once the individual is able to identify with and claim a particular pseudonym, which is derived from within the culture itself, this marks a belonging to and relationship with the criminal environment. Affiliation to the subculture facilitates and cultivates the construction of relationships among criminal peers that are required for the knowledge and commission of criminal activities. The name comes to identify a dimension of the individual that enables the individual to redress a form of oppression that they perceive as being attached to a facet of their official identity.

The pseudonym articulates a criminal identity that has been constructed in response to the conditions of the characters' social circumstances. The oppression could be in relation to the individual's gender, age, addiction, socio-economic status, or education, to name a few. The pseudonym encapsulates the 'reality' of the criminal character which can be used to emancipate the position of the individual, or explicate a deviant quality of the individual, that the individual has come to understand as separating them from others. Furthermore, the pseudonym is constructed as a means for the individual to counter feelings of guilt and responsibility for criminal behaviours by constructing a criminal identity, articulated in the pseudonym, that can harbour the 'responsibility' for deviant actions and behaviours. This may not be all bad since the distinction will enable the individual to one day re-engage with the official identity since they will not attribute the negative perceptions and interactions as belonging to the official identity, thus, providing the opportunity for change.

From the observations made in these 12 films, I suggest that the pseudonym, as a cultural artifact, may be able to communicate a number of attributes concerning the individual and their criminal dealings. The name can articulate a level of credibility to other criminals which dictates sentiments of trust, competence, ability, and reliability. This is because a criminal's pseudonym is going to be unique in regard to its geographical membership and intelligibility, thus the pseudonym carries the social history of the individual. The name defines the level and nature of relationships that the person has to criminal subgroups, which will help dictate the type of relationship that they will have with criminal peers, which is especially important in the forging of new relationships.

Individuals are motivated to cultivate their criminal character since it has allowed for them to interact with the social community in a way that they perceive as being beneficial in realizing the goals of larger society. This desire is typically attached to the need for money and materialistic accumulation, however, it was also shown to be attached to the concepts of gender and the associated responsibilities or social representations of being a man or a woman in the social community. Ultimately, the pseudonym, for these characters, allows for individuals to engage with a dimension of personhood that enables them to participate in the conventions of larger society through the material membership to the criminal subculture.

Future research would benefit by being conducted with real life individuals who have engaged in criminal behaviours and who have used a pseudonym in order to see if the same themes and interpersonal processes are salient with live subjects. This can be done by performing a systematic evaluation of pseudonyms prevalence in the criminal subculture. This will reveal how often pseudonyms are used and if there is any significance into the distribution of the pseudonym according to gender, race, location, and offence types. This systematic tabulation could then be enriched with a qualitative analysis of individuals who have been identified as using a pseudonym within criminal interactions to compare the findings of this research with the lived experiences of individuals within the criminal subculture.

Future research would also benefit from understanding the differences between the two genders in regards to the use and purpose of the pseudonym. Preliminarily, it seems that women use the pseudonym and conception of criminal identity in relation to the influence that it has on the individual's conception of self and their social roles. With men, it appears that the pseudonym tends to function as a mechanism of power through the establishment of a reputation and status within a community where they feel they belong, are valued, and can be successful.

Researchers may find my research useful in that it has revealed a trait of the criminal character which may facilitate the development of rapport with participants who are active offenders. Being able to identify and use the criminal's street name may instill a level of trust and comfort with the researcher, giving them further access to the target populations, by ascribing to a cultural fashion. This may be more useful to those who are engaged in research with active offenders, career criminals, and life course theory approaches – identify and evaluate the evolution of the name.

More basically, my research suggests that the pseudonym may be used by a number of real life criminal; further investigation into the prevalence and construction of criminal's pseudonyms could reveal this. Of those who use a pseudonym, graecisms seem to be the most popular form of name constructions, followed by latinisation and anagrams. My research has also revealed that the pseudonym has a social utility for these criminal characters who tend to participate in deviances that involve direct interaction with other criminal peers. In my sample, criminals who were involved with drug

solicitation seemed to be the ones who use pseudonyms predominantly. Checking the reliability of this observation, with real life participants, would reveal the nature of this relationship. On the other hand, criminal characters in my sample, who participate in solitary deviances, like murder, tend to not use a pseudonym. Again, further studies could produce reliable predictive values for the use of a pseudonym. Overall, my study suggests that criminal characters who have some sort of an affiliation to a gang or a criminal group tend to use a pseudonym more often than those who are not affiliated with a gang or a criminal group. That type of research could reveal some of the peculiarities of the pseudonym within the criminal subculture, and discover why some offenders use a pseudonym while others do not. It would be helpful to evaluate this in relation to the type of offender and offence types.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Complete Character Summary

Name	Ophelia – O “the bipolar basket-case in Hamlet”	Elena Sanchez – La Reina “The red queen”	George Jung - Boston George “Georgie”	Winston Wolf - The Wolf “Mr. Wolf”
Film	<i>Savages</i>	<i>Savages</i>	<i>Blow</i>	<i>Pulp Fiction</i>
Who	Mid 20s; Caucasian female; Pot smoker; Daughter; Girlfriend; ‘POW’	40s; Latina female; Head of Baja Cartel; Mother and widow	Youth – mid 40s; White; male; working class; son; husband; father; American; drug dealer; inmate	Middle aged – 50s Mediterranean; upper class; killer; clean-up crew; problem solver; partner/lover
What	‘joint- girlfriend’ of 2 characters; Weed Cultivator Held for ransom	Head of Cartel; Orchestrator of ‘kidnap’ and transactions	Drug dealer (pot and cocaine); international sales and distribution; trying to escape his past	Clean-up crew (disposed of body); organized crime unit; bribery
Where	California, USA	Mexico (south)	Boston, MA; California, USA Columbia	California, USA
When	2000s	2000s	1960s - 1970s (predominately)	1990s
Why	Involved in the subculture; not the main cultivator/distri butor;	Female in ‘powerful position’; The queen; tension/conflict of roles	Develops the pseudonym within culture; criminal identity giving access to success; masculinity; CJS interaction with identity; trust and/or reputation in identity	Name gives an immediate impression of status and power; reputation of the wolf; respect
How	Creating a ‘new’ life, escape the one she was given ; Consumer discourse; Sexual object	Tension of identity; Shift in power dynamics; Reputation/Prestige/Ho nour	Used to incorporate his business and create an identity that is successful; reputation and success	Reputation of criminal; respect and status

Name	Lida Newsom-Stony	???? – Mister French “The reliable French”	??? – Steak “Steak ‘n’ Fries”	Ellsworth Johnson - Bumpy “The Robin Hood of Harlem”
Film	<i>Set it off</i>	<i>The Departed</i>	<i>City of God</i>	<i>American Gangster</i>
Who	20s; black; female; bank robber; gang of 4 women	Middle aged-50/60; Irish gang; killer; enforcer; Boss’ right hand man	Youth; Brazilian; son’ gang member; working his way up	60s; black man; American; drug distribution; teacher of Frank Lucas
What	Bank robber; girlfriend of corporate banker	Violent enforcer; advisor to the boss	Food runner – gun slinger; robs, kills, and does drugs	Drug dealer and community philanthropist
Where	Los Angeles, California	Boston, MA , USA	City of God, Brazil (Rio)	Harlem, New York
When	1990s	2000s	1970s	1960s
Why	Cultivation of a criminal identity; name masking identity and demographics	Reputation of criminal identity supersedes him; power through violence	Pseudonym derived from subculture; his criminal identity gives him power and purpose, as a man	His name communicates a brand and the philosophy of his business operations – giving back to the community i.e., the modern day ‘Tom’s’
How	Identity cultivation and concealment	Reputation and status of criminal; status;	Reputation, status and worth – as a man	His everyday interactions with the community and his business partners re-affirm the tenets of his corporate image

Name	??- Redtop “The Queen Bee”	? - Cookie “The Cookie crumbles”
Film	<i>American Gangster</i>	<i>Spun</i>
Who	30s;black;woman;drug distribution; packaging; Lucas enterprise	20s; white; female; girlfriend of dealer
What	Product packaging and distribution	Drug addict
Where	Harlem, New York	California, USA
When	1960s and 1970s	1990s or 2000s
Why	Her name is a pun of a physical characteristic	Use of a pseudonym by criminal peers and the CJS
How	Red hair on top of her head, Redtop; criminal identity	Cultural artifact of the group; the CJS knows her and her boyfriend by their pseudonyms

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *Blow*

Producer: Michael De Luca (exec.) and Georgia Kacandes (exec.)

Director: Ted Demme

Year of Production: 2001

Period of Setting: 1960s – 1970s

Length of Movie: 124 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug Trafficking 2. Drug Cultivation 3. Assault

Use of Pseudonym: Yes No
None 0-3 4-7 **8-11** 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: George Jung aka Boston George

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.	George Jung	Boston George	Drug Trafficker
2.	Kevin Dulli	Dulli	Drug Trafficker
3.		Tuna	Drug Trafficker
4.	Barbara Buckley	Barbie	Drug Smuggler
5.	Diego Delgado	Diego	Drug Trafficker
6.	Jack Stevens	Stevens	Drug Smuggling
7.		Mr. T	Drug User
8.	Pablo Escobar	El Padrino	Drug Distributor
9.	Juan Carlos	Guapo	Drug Distributor
10.		G.G.	Drug Smuggler

Miscellaneous:

Life course of a career criminal

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *Spun*

Producer: Chris Hanley, Timothy Wayne Peternel, Fernando Sulichin and Danny Vinik

Director: Jonas Akerlund

Year of Production: 2002

Period of Setting: late 90s early 2000s

Length of Movie: 101 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug use 2. Drug cultivation 3. Assault

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 **4-7** 8-11 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: Cookie

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.		Frisbee	Drug user
2.		Giggles	Drug user
3.	Michael	Spider Mike	Drug Traffic
4.		Cookie	Drug user
5.		The Cook	Cultivate drug

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *New Jack City*

Producer: George Jackson and Doug McHenry

Director: Mario Van Peebles

Year of Production: 1991

Period of Setting: 1980s, New York City

Length of Movie: 97 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug trafficking 2. Drug use 3. Murder

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 **4-7** 8-11 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: __n/a__

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.		Duh Duh Man	Murder
2.		Pookie	Drug user
3.	Gerry Wells	Gee Money	Drug traffick
4.		Biff	Drug dealer
5.		Fat Smitty	Drug traffick
6.		Frankie Needles	Drug sales

Miscellaneous:

Discourse of crime, who is committing the acts and in which environment, conditions the perception of deviance.

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *LUV*

Producer: Jason Michael Berman, Gordon Bijelonic, Common, Derek Dudle, W. Michael Jenson, Joel Newton and Datari Turner

Director: Sheldon Candis

Year of Production: 2012

Period of Setting: 2000s

Length of Movie: 94 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug trafficking 2. Murder 3. Falsifying Identity

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
 None 0-3 **4-7** 8-11 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: n/a

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.		Cofield	Falsifying Identity
2.		Wood	Underage Crime
3.		Fish	Drug distributor
4.		Lil' Baby	Drug trafficking
5.		Angel	Drug user
6.		Jamison	Drug trafficking
7.		E-Knock	Drug trafficking

Miscellaneous:

Child being socialized into crime and committing a number of crimes in one day with his Uncle.

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *The Departed*

Producer: G. Mac Brown (exec.), Dough Davison (exec.), Kristin Hahn (exec.), Roy Lee (exec.), Gianni Nunnari (exec.)

Director: Martin Scorsese

Year of Production: 2006

Period of Setting: 2000s

Length of Movie: 151 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Murder 2. Assault 3. Drug Trafficking

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
 None 0-3 **4-7** 8-11 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: Mister French

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.	Frank Costello	Mr. C; Costello	Violence
2.	Billy Costigan	Billy	Assault
3.		Fitzy	Assault
4.	Timothy Delahunt	Delahunt	Murder
5.		Mister French	Murder
6.		Jimmy Bags	Racqueterring

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *Savages*

Producer: Moritz Borman and Eric Kopeloff

Director: Oliver Stone

Year of Production: 2012

Period of Setting: 2000s (Laguna Beach and Mexico)

Length of Movie: 131 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug Distribution/cultivation 2. Murder 3. Kidnapping

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 4-7 **8-11** 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: Ophelia aka O + Elena Sanchez aka La Reina

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.		El Azul	Drug sales
2.	John	Chon	Cultivate Drug
3.	Ophelia	O	Drug user
4.		Lado	Murder
5.	Elena Sanchez	La Reina	Drug sales
6.	Esteban	Esté	Kid napping
7.		Doc	Murder
8.		Spin	laundering

Miscellaneous:

Leading quote: “Just because we make up stories about ourselves doesn't mean we can escape what waits for us.”

Discourse of drugs in interrogated throughout the film

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *City of God*

Producer: Andrea Barata Ribeiro and Mauricio Andrade Ramos

Director: Fernando Meirelles

Year of Production: 2002

Period of Setting: 1960s and 1970s; Brazil (City of God- Rio)

Length of Movie: 130 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug trafficking 2. Murder 3. Robbery

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 4-7 8-11 12-15 **15 or more**

Character Identified: Steak

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.	Wilson Rodrigues	Rocket	Drug user
2.		Li'l Zé	Murder
3.		Shaggy	Robbery
4.		Clipper	Robbery
5.		Goose	Robbery
6.		Benny	Drug Traffick
7.		Shorty	Murder
8.	Tiago		Drug user
9.	Donna Zélia		Drug traffick
10.		Blacky	Drug traffick
11.		Big Boy	Drug traffick
12.		Carrot	Drug traffick
13.		Aristotle	Drug traffick
14.	Angelica		Drug user
15.		Steak	Murder
16.	Manuel Machado	Knockout Ned	Robbery
17.		Tuba	Murder
18.		Otto	Murder

Miscellaneous:

Based on a true story

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *American Gangster*

Producer: Brian Gazer and Ridley Scott

Director: Ridley Scott

Year of Production: 2007

Period of Setting: 1970s

Length of Movie: 157 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Drug Trafficking 2. Laundering 3. Assault

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 4-7 **8-11** 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: Ellsworth Johnson aka Bumpy + Redtop

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.	Ellsworth Johnson	Bumpy	Drug sales
2.		Campizi	Assault
3.		Big Al	Racqueterring
4.	Javier Rivera	J	Drug user
5.		Rossi	Drug sales
6.	Darlynn	Red Top	Drug sales
7.		Tango	Drug sales
8.		Doc	Assault
9.	Leroy Nicholas Barnes	Nicky Barnes	Drug sales

Miscellaneous:

Context of crime i.e., space and place (country), and social position (police ‘bending’ the rules)

Appendix 2 – Basic Movie Protocol

Movie Title: *Set it off*

Producer: Oren Koules and Dale Pollock

Director: F. Gary Gray

Year of Production: 1996

Period of Setting: 1990s

Length of Movie: 123 minutes

Type of Delinquency: 1. Armed robbery 2. Murder 3. Evading arrest

Use of Pseudonym: **Yes** No
None 0-3 **4-7** 8-11 12-15 15 or more

Character Identified: Lida Newson aka Stony

	Official Name	Pseudonym	Offence Type
1.	Lida Newson	Stony	Armed rob
2.	Francesca Sutton	Frankie	Armed rob
3.	Cleopatra Sims	Cleo	Armed rob
4.	Tisean Williams	T.T.	Armed rob
5.		Black Sam	Illegal arms

Miscellaneous:

Women, and the preoccupation with self vs. power and trust

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *American Gangster*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Frank Lucas			Murder, drug distributor/trafficker	
Ellsworth Johnson	Bumpy	Latin		Role model to Frank and a figure within the community
	Campizi	n/a	Assault	
	Big Al	Latin	Bookie	
Javier Rivera	J	Anagram	Drug user, murder	Undercover police officer that gets in too deep
Detective Trupo			Drug trafficking, extortion	Dirty cop
	Rossi	n/a	Drug trafficking	Mob boss
	Red Top	Latin – red hair	Drug distributor/packaging	
	Tango	Graecism	Drug distributor	
	Doc	Graecism	Driver, enforcer	Franks right hand man-driver
Nate			Drug smuggling	From Bangkok
General Chang			Drug cultivator	
Leroy Nicholas Barnes	Nicky Barnes	Anagram	Drug trafficking	Flashy; not a part of the Lucas organization
Huey Lucas				Flashy brother of Frank; body shop business front

Joey Sadano			Drug trafficking	Childhood friend of Richie (lead investigator)
Turner Lucas			Drug trafficking	Tire shop business front
Dominic Cattano			Drug distribution	
Dexter Lucas			Drug trafficking	Laundry business front
Melvin Lucas				Mechanic shot business front
Terrence Lucas				Utility shop business front
Jimmy Zee			Drug user, assault	The snitch – after shooting his girlfriend he is offered a deal to help take down Frank
Stevie Lucas			Drug trafficking	Was going to be a pro baseball player (Yankees), instead he wanted to be like Frank

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *Spun*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Ross			Drug user, forcible confinement	
Nikki			Drug user	
	Frisbee	Graecism	Drug user	
	Giggles	Graecism	Drug user	
Michael	Spider Mike	Graecism	Drug user, drug trafficking	
	Cookie	Graecism	Drug user	
	The Cook	Graecism	Drug distributor, drug cultivation, assault, drug use	
April			Drug user, prostitution	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *New Jack City*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Nino Brown			Durg dealing , assault	Reagan laws ; Cash Money Brothers; creates the ethos of Robin Hood
	Duh Duh Duh man	Graecism	murder	Stutters; Cash Money Brothers
Scott Appleton	Scotty	Anagram		He is a cop
	Pookie	Graecism	Robbery, drug dealer	Robs scotty
Gerry Wells	Gee Money	Graecism	Street hustling, drug trafficking and distribution, drug user	Friend of Nino; provided the opportunity to sell free base; Cash Money Brothers
	Biff	Graecism	Drug distributor	Dies in opening scene, thrown off of a bridge by nino and enforcer
Kareem			Laundering, drug trafficking	Computer surveillance for the subculture
Keisha			Murder	Part of the crew, lookout
	Fat Smitty	Latin		Used to run The Carter buildings that Nino takes over
Frank Needles	Frankie	Anagram	Drug distribution, enforcer	Italian mob

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *LUV*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Vincent	Michael Woods (alias)		Murder, drug trafficking	Wood's uncle; just got out of prison
Cofield			False identification	
Wood			Shooting a firearm, drug distribution, drinking underage, assault, driving without a license, tempering with a crime scene	
	Fish	Graecism	Drug distributor	
	Lil' Baby Rich	Latin	Drug trafficking	Vincent's old right hand man, runs the block now;
	Angel	Graecism	Drug user	
	Jamison	Graecism	Drug trafficking, drug user	
	E-Knock	Graecism	Drug trafficking	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *The Departed*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Frank Costello	Mr. C; Francis; Costello	Anagram	Mob boss, assault, treason	
Colin Sullivan			Organized crime informant, assault	Cop that works for the Irish mob
Billy Costigan	Billy		Assault, Drug dealer	Billy is also an alias → denying cop identity Billy is also a pseudonym since it is an 'identity' that he claims is criminal, and is not distinct from his personal history
Jackie Costigan	Jackie			
	Fitzy	Graecism	Assault, murder	
Timothy Delahunt	Delahunt		Murder	
	Mister French	Latin	Enforcer, murder, assault, arson	
Sean Costigan				
	Jimmy Bags	Graecism	Racqueterring	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *Pulp Fiction*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Ringo	Pumpkin	Graecism	Robbery	Couple in the diner
Yolanda	Honey Bunny	Graecism	Robbery	Couple in the diner
Vincent Vega			Murder, drug user	
Jules Winnfield	Pitt	Graecism	Murder	
Marsellus Wallace			Fixing sports outcome, assault, murder	
Butch Coolidge			Murder, hit and run,	
Paul	English Bob	Latin	Enforcer	
Lance			Drug dealer, drug user	
Jody			Drug user	
Trudi			Drug user	
Mia Wallace			Drug user	
Maynard			Assault, confinement,	
Zed			Assault, confinement, rape	
Jimmie			Aiding and Abetting	
Winston Wolf	Mr. Wolf	Anagram	Aiding and Abetting (body disposal), speeding,	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *Savages*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Ben			Drug Cultivation, extortion, armed robbery, kid napping	Buddhist philosophy- don't fuck with people
John	Chon	Anagram	Drug cultivation, assault, extortion, armed robbery, murder, kid napping	Baddist philosophy- don't fuck with chon/ben
Ophelia	O; Lotus	Anagram	Drug user	Shared girlfriend of ben and chon
	Lado	Graecism	Assault, Murder, drug user, kid napping, rape	
Elena Sanchez	La Reina; Madrina; The Red Queen	Graecism	Extortion, drug distribution	Head of the Baja cartel
Chad			Drug user	Lawyer
	El Azul	Latin		
Esteban	Esté	Anagram	Murder, kid napping	
Dennis Cain				Police officer (DEA)
	Doc	Graecism	Murder	Ex-NAVY Seal
Sam			Murder	Ex-NAVY Seal
Billy			Murder	Ex-NAVY Seal
	Spin	Latin	Money laundering	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *City of God*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
	Li'l Dice; Li'l Zé	Graecism	Murder, assault, robbery, drug user, drug trafficking, rape	Became li'l ze; psychotic; killed goose
Wilson Rodrigues	Rocket	Graecism	Drug user	Brother of Goose
	Shaggy	Graecism	Armed robbery, grand theft, car-jacking , drug user	Member of the tender trio
	Clipper	Graecism	Armed robbery, grand theft	Member of the tender trio Converted back to the church after robbery
	Goose	Graecism	Armed robbery, grand theft	Member of the tender trio
	Benny	Anagram	Theft, assault, drug dealing	Brother of Shaggy
	Shorty	Latin	Murder	
Tiago			Drug user	
	Blacky	Latin	Drug trafficking , murder	Runner for carrot; killed Benny
Donna Zelia			Drug trafficking, prostitution	'The apartment'
	Big boy	Latin	Assault, drug trafficking	A runner of DZ that took over once he grew up; took it from her
	Carrot	Latin	Drug trafficking , murder	Runner for big boy

	Aristotle	n/a	Drug trafficking	Friend of carrot; killed by carrot
Angélica		Graecism	Drug user	
	Steak	Graecism	Murder	Initiated into the gange with murdering a chid (runt)
Manuel Machado	Knockout Ned	Graecism	Murder, robbery	The city saw his 'murder' as an act of a hero
	Tuba	Graecism	Murder	Murdered by Li'l Zé for being 'annoying'
	Otto	n/a	Murder	Kills Knockout Ned for killing his father (bank security)

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *Set it Off*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Offence Type	Notes:
Darnell			Armed robbery	
Larenz			Armed robbery	
Lida Newsom	Stony	Graecism	Prostitution, drug use, armed robbery, evading arrest	
Francesca Sutton	Frankie	Anagram	Drug user, armed robbery, evading arrest	
Cleopatra Sims	Cleo	Anagram	Drug use, grand theft, armed robbery, evading arrest	
Tisean Williams	T.T.	Anagram	Armed robbery, murder, evading arrest	
	Black Sam	Latin	Illegal firearms sales	
Bruce			Illegal firearms sales	
Luther			Theft	

Appendix 3 – Prevalence Table

FILM: *Blow*

Official Name	Pseudonym	Type of Name (ana., gra., lat.)	Deviance Type	Notes:
George Jung	Boston George	Latinisation	Drug dealing, drug user, theft	Arrested for dealing
Kevin Dulli	Dulli	Anagram	Drng dealing, drug user, theft	
	Tuna	Graecism	Drug dealing, drug user	
Barbara Buckley	Barbie	Latin	Drug smuggling, drug user	
Derek Foreal			Drug Trafficker	Hair salon owner; performs as a gay man (feminine)
Sanchez			Drug cultivation (marijuana)/ sale	
Diego Delgado			Grand theft auto, drug trafficking, assault, drug user	Met in prison
Cesar Toban			Drug Trafficking	
Jack Stevens	Stevens	Anagram	Drug Smuggling	The pilot
Alessandro ?			Drug Traffick, assault	
?	Mr. T	Anagram	Drug user	
Pablo Escobar	El Padrino	Latin	Drug Cultivator, Trafficking	
Mirtha Jung			Drug user	Wife of George
Augusto ?			Drug distribution	Colombian
Juan Carlos	Guapo	Graecism	Drug distribution	Colombian
Leon ?			Drug Smuggler	Co-pilot (set

				up)
Ben			Drug Smuggling	Set up